

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick**

**Permanent WRAP URL:**

<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/138410>

**Copyright and reuse:**

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it.

Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

For more information, please contact the WRAP Team at: [wrap@warwick.ac.uk](mailto:wrap@warwick.ac.uk)

SYMBOLIST LANDSCAPES.

The Place of Painting in the Poetry and Criticism of Mallarmé  
and his Circle.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
Department of French of the University of Warwick.

1976

J. KEARNS.

No part of this thesis was carried out in collaboration with  
anyone.

## CONTENTS.

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract.	i
Preface.	iii
List of Illustrations.	iv
<u>Chapter.</u>	
I. An Introduction.	1
II. Mere Literature. Definitions of Literary Painting in Symbolist Art Criticism.	54
III. Signs of the Times. The Status of Pictorial Language in Symbolist Art Criticism.	113
IV. Mallarmé: The Beginning and End of the Question.	175
V. Gustave Kahn: Beyond Decadence.	242
VI. Gauguin and Jarry: The Men with the Axe.	300
VII. Alternative Modernisms? Concluding Remarks.	350
Appendix I. The Contemporary French Structuralists on Painting.	363
Appendix II. Mallarmé on Manet. A New Re-translation	373
Bibliography.	375

Abstract.

This thesis has two main aims: to give information about attitudes to painting among the French symbolist poets and critics, 1885-1895 and, from here, to examine the place of painting in the work of three of the most important poets of this period. After introductory remarks on the tradition of inter-arts comparisons in French nineteenth-century aesthetic theory and on the methodological problems raised by the study of such comparisons (together with the inadequacies of previous work on the subject for the period in question), chapter two examines Albert Aurier's definition of pictorial Symbolism in order to show that the reluctance of symbolist poets and painters alike to accept it is based upon differences in attitudes among both groups to the subject-matter of painting. These different attitudes in turn influence interpretations of pictorial form which are studied in chapter three. Particular attention is paid to those poets and critics who seek to assimilate visual values within verbal models of expression as part of a wider search for a synthesis of the arts.

The thesis then goes on to study the work of three poets who apply in their experiments with poetic language the lessons taken from a profound understanding of specific painting. Chapter four discusses Manet's influence upon Mallarmé's poetic style through a detailed analysis of the changes made by the poet to successive versions of 'L'Après-midi d'un faune';



chapter five, the influence of Seurat's divisionist technique upon the 'vers libre' of Gustave Kahn; chapter six, that of Gauguin's synthetist style upon the abstract poetic language of Alfred Jarry. Through these poets, the thesis attempts to show the extent to which pictorial reference and analogy contributed to certain fundamental developments in modern French poetry.

Preface.

My sincere thanks go to my supervisor, Dr. C.W. Thompson, who has, by his generosity, greatly exceeded his obligations, to Professor D.G. Charlton of the French Department of the University of Warwick and to Professor F. Scarfe, Director of the British Institute in Paris, both of whom read this thesis at various stages and offered many helpful suggestions. I should also like to acknowledge my debt to Professor C.P. Barbier of the French Department of the University of Edinburgh, who kindly allowed me to draw upon his encyclopaedic knowledge of Mallarmé's manuscripts, to Monsieur D. Rouart, Manet's grand-nephew, for his interesting suggestions concerning the beginnings of Mallarmé's friendship with Manet, to Monsieur M. Hoog, Curator of the Orangerie Museum in Paris, Madame F.-C. Legrand, Curator of the Museum of Modern Art in Brussels and to the staff of the Wildenstein Foundation in Paris, all of whom helped me with different aspects of my research on Gauguin and, finally, to Professor A.G. Lehmann, Associate Professor of the French Department of the University of Warwick, who kindly sent me a copy of his article on symbolist art criticism.

Quotations are given according to the edition referred to. Notes are placed at the end of each chapter and contain detailed bibliographical information as well as page references and comment. Square brackets in quotations and in the bibliography are my parentheses. I have, however, retained round brackets in order to separate from the body of the text those examples of symbolist art criticism with which I have, on occasions, accompanied the illustrations. Round brackets are also used for my translations of quotations taken from languages other than French.

List of Illustrations.

	<u>Page</u>
P. Gauguin: 'Vision après le sermon. La Lutte de Jacob avec l'ango'.	63
O. Redon: 'Vision'.	85
O. Redon: 'Triste montée'.	88
P. Puvis de Chavannes: 'Le Pauvre pêcheur'.	136
P. Puvis de Chavannes: 'Sainte Geneviève ravitaillant Paris'.	154
P. Gauguin: 'D'où venons-nous? que sommes-nous? où allons-nous?'.	154
A. Séon: 'Le Désespoir de la chimère'.	159
E. Manet: 'Le Chemin de fer'.	180
E. Manet: 'En Bateau'.	188
E. Manet: 'Le Linge'.	190
C. Monet: 'Régates à Argenteuil'.	194
G. Moreau: 'Jeune fille à la tête d'Orphée'.	254
G. Moreau: 'Sappho'.	254
G. Moreau: 'Salomé dansant'.	255
G. Seurat: 'Un Dimanche après-midi à la Grande Jatte'.	259
G. Seurat: 'Etude pour "Un Dimanche après-midi à la Grande Jatte"'.	259
C. Monet: 'Impression, soleil levant'.	284
C. Monet: 'Portail de la Cathédrale de Rouen, temps gris'.	284
C. Monet: 'Etretat'.	285
C. Monet: 'La Cathédrale de Rouen, harmonie bleue, soleil matinale'.	285
O. Redon: 'Vase de fleurs: le coquelicot rouge'.	304
P. Gauguin: 'Arearea'.	304
M. Denis: 'Avril'.	305
P. Gauguin: 'Ta Matete'.	305
P. Gauguin: 'L'Homme à la hache'.	313

Each illustration is accompanied by the painting's date of composition, its dimensions (height first) and its present place of location.

Chapter One.An Introduction.<sup>+</sup>

On Monday 23 March 1891, at a banquet in the café Voltaire in Paris, Stéphane Mallarmé proposed the following toast:

Messieurs, pour aller au plus pressé, buvons au retour de Paul Gauguin; mais non sans admirer cette conscience superbe qui, en l'éclat de son talent, l'exile, pour se retremper, vers les lointains et vers soi-même.

(S. Mallarmé / Toast to Gauguin<sup>7</sup>, Mercure de France, Tome 2, n°17, Mai 1891, p.318).

Gauguin was about to leave for the South Seas and a group of poets, painters and critics had gathered to ensure that he left in style. There were toasts in prose and in verse, toasts to Gauguin and to the critics who had revealed his name to a wider public, toasts to Mallarmé who presided and who was as much the principal guest as Gauguin himself. One speaker after another vowed to defend the sacred cause of art during the painter's absence and heaped abuse upon whichever representative of artistic or political inertia came to mind. The 'menu' on such occasions was a familiar one.

The atmosphere, this particular evening, was, however, more solemn than usual. One of the guests, Albert Aurier, had just published in the Mercure de France a resounding article proclaiming the existence in painting of a movement parallel to that of symbolist poetry and nominating Gauguin as its leader.<sup>1</sup> This discovery did more than simply endow Aurier (temporarily, at least) with a position of authority among his literary friends. It also seemed to them to fill a gap in their

<sup>+</sup>Footnotes to this chapter begin on p.41.

movement, which had long since had its leading poet in Mallarmé and its musician in Wagner and which now, at last, had its painter too. The Trinity of Archsymbols was complete. For a few hours at least, it was possible to believe that the dawn was about to break upon art's final destiny - that of a total art in which to ~~sum up~~ the total spiritual experience of man.<sup>2</sup> The sight of Gauguin and Mallarmé facing one another across the table turned a farewell get-together into a religious ceremony. Before being sent on his way, Gauguin was being canonized.

Guests at the banquet included, for the poets, Jean Moréas, Adolphe Retté, Saint-Pol-Roux and Charles Morice; for the painters, Odilon Redon, Paul Sérusier and Eugène Carrière; for the critics, Aurier, Roger Marx, Jean Dolent and Julien Leclercq. Together with Gauguin and Mallarmé and with a few notable additions such as Gustave Kahn, Félix Fénéon and Téodor de Wyzéwa, they formed the nucleus of the Parisian avant-garde of 1891. The reasons for which Gauguin was received into it with such ceremony will be examined in the pages which follow. The poets' allegiance to the painter proved, in some cases, to be permanent, in others, short-lived and this too needs to be explained. Both questions figure prominently in their creative and critical involvement with painting between 1885 and 1895. One thing is certain, however. The sudden acceptance of Gauguin, like the subsequent rejection of him, is conducted with an intensity which suggests that no ordinary

relationship between poetry and painting is involved. Before this period, both arts had frequently drawn inspiration from one another. Poems, for example, have often had pictorial sources. The art object is no different from any other in the sense that it may provide the theme for a poem, painting or piece of music. For Aurier and his friends, however, more fundamental issues seemed to be at stake in the interrelations of the arts and, in that, I think they were right. Though it would be interesting to settle once and for all the problem of whether Boucher's 'Pan et Syrinx' was or was not the initial inspiration for Mallarmé's poem, 'L'Après-midi d'un faune',<sup>3</sup> it seems to me indispensable to understand Manet's contribution to the same poem.

For the poets present in the café Voltaire, the commitment to poetry was inseparable from their devotion to Mallarmé. Their formative years were spent on their knees to him and it is this presence of both a spiritual authority and a group of devoted admirers which enables us to speak of them as a literary movement. Though many of them expressed public opposition to the very idea of such movements<sup>4</sup> and though the directions taken by them from 1895 onwards were often very different, the fact remains that, between 1885 and 1895, they were sufficiently united on certain general aesthetic positions (and not only in a negative way, through their shared opposition to the prevailing art theories of the day) for the idea of a movement to be a meaningful one. Though I shall usually have

this group of poets in mind when referring to the symbolist movement, I do not wish to suggest that they represent the definitive expression, the culmination of literary Symbolism. My use of the term is descriptive and refers to the third of the three streams of poetry to which G. Michaud referred in his well-known study of literary Symbolism.<sup>5</sup> Any broader study of the period would necessarily give a larger place to Verlaine and to Rimbaud than I shall do here; in it, Baudelaire would be present as French Symbolism's first major representative, not as a 'precursor', Valéry and Claudel, as its last, not as 'successors'. The Belgian Symbolists would also need to be included. Such a study is not intended here, where the problem of painting's role in the poetry and criticism written between 1885 and 1895 will be presented in a rather different way. It seems clear to me that the importance of Manet for Mallarmé's mature poetic style has hitherto been underestimated and that, as a result, the relationships between the literary and pictorial avant-gardes during these years have not been adequately explained.<sup>6</sup> These relationships will form the subject of this thesis.

My description of the subject in these terms reflects my desire not to attach too exclusive an interest in definitions of the symbol in the poetry and painting of these years. Paul Valéry once remarked that to resort, in literary criticism, to terms such as Classicism and Romanticism, one had to have lost all sense of intellectual rigour. He above all people

might have extended the remark to include Symbolism for he had first-hand knowledge of the variety of definitions of the symbol during the period under study.<sup>8</sup> Before criticizing their authors for lacking Valéry's mental discipline, we should remember that such definitions were as much intended to provoke controversy as to fix an aesthetic concept. Furthermore, these controversies were waged for the most part in the columns of the literary reviews of the 1890's so that even the most transcendental definition had a deadline to meet. We obviously cannot ignore this search for a global definition of the symbol on the part of the poets for it influences the sort of art criticism which they write. Nevertheless, it is not the only aspect of their literary activity, still less a necessary condition for a study of the relationships between the poetry and painting of these years. The following lines show that Aurier himself was aware of this:

Mais, d'abord, il faudrait bien s'entendre et ne pas croire que les artistes qu'on a ou qui se sont baptisés 'symbolistes' ont la prétention d'avoir inventé le symbolisme ou de le monopoliser. Bien des artistes avant eux, ils le savent, et l'on peut même dire tous les vrais artistes, ont été symbolistes par ce simple fait qu'il n'y a point d'art véritable sans symbolisme. C'est même le seul critérium permettant d'affirmer en une oeuvre la qualité d'art. *(Aurier's italics)*.

(G.-A. Aurier: 'Les symbolistes', p. 474).<sup>9</sup>

In this way, the critic described Angelico, Mantegna, Memling, Dürer, Rembrandt and Leonardo da Vinci as Symbolists, by which he meant that they had no more accepted than had Aurier's contemporaries that the ultimate purpose of art was to reproduce as faithful a representation possible of external reality. This



is not the only occasion upon which Aurier seems about to say that the main achievement of the poetical movement from Baudelaire onwards lay not in having evolved all-embracing definitions of the symbol but in having placed a new and distinct value upon poetic utterance. That he never quite did so is due to a large extent to the combination of decadence and neo-platonism with which he approached art.

One attempt to endow the terminology of literary Symbolism with a greater degree of semantic precision has consisted of making a distinction between 'symbolique' and 'symbolisme', in which the former would be reserved for a poetic theory founded upon the belief that nature was the symbol of some transcendental reality and the latter for one which, without posing the problem of transcendental mysticism, would seek in nature symbols of the poet's 'état d'âme'.<sup>10</sup> This distinction works well in theory, less well in practice. The symbolist poets would all have agreed with Schopenhauer that the world was their representation but since Baudelaire and Rimbaud had attributed to the poet the capacity to perceive, between the phenomena of external reality, relationships which proved the existence of some superior reality, the distinction between the two sorts of symbolism was in many cases annulled. Maurice Denis, the spokesman of the Nabis and one of the most lucid writers upon art during this period, sensed this very well:

Le synthétisme, qui devint par le contact avec les poètes le symbolisme, n'était pas à l'origine un mouvement mystique ou idéaliste. Il fut inauguré par des paysagistes, des nature-mortistes, pas du tout

is not the only occasion upon which Aurier seems about to say that the main achievement of the poetical movement from Baudelaire onwards lay not in having evolved all-embracing definitions of the symbol but in having placed a new and distinct value upon poetic utterance. That he never quite did so is due to a large extent to the combination of decadence and neo-platonism with which he approached art.

One attempt to endow the terminology of literary Symbolism with a greater degree of semantic precision has consisted of making a distinction between 'symbolique' and 'symbolisme', in which the former would be reserved for a poetic theory founded upon the belief that nature was the symbol of some transcendental reality and the latter for one which, without posing the problem of transcendental mysticism, would seek in nature symbols of the poet's 'état d'âme'.<sup>10</sup> This distinction works well in theory, less well in practice. The symbolist poets would all have agreed with Schopenhauer that the world was their representation but since Baudelaire and Rimbaud had attributed to the poet the capacity to perceive, between the phenomena of external reality, relationships which proved the existence of some superior reality, the distinction between the two sorts of symbolism was in many cases annulled. Maurice Denis, the spokesman of the Nabis and one of the most lucid writers upon art during this period, sensed this very well:

Le synthétisme, qui devint par le contact avec les poètes le symbolisme, n'était pas à l'origine un mouvement mystique ou idéaliste. Il fut inauguré par des paysagistes, des nature-mortistes, pas du tout

par des peintres de l'âme. Il impliquait cependant la croyance à une correspondance entre les formes extérieures et les états subjectifs.

(M. Denis: 'Cézanne', L'Occident, Tome 12, n°70, Septembre 1907, pp.125-6).

If global definitions of Symbolism are difficult to establish, then these remarks by Denis are a reminder that attempts to narrow them run the risk of introducing distinctions which, in practice, prove difficult to sustain. Nevertheless, it is in favour of some such narrower definition that L.J. Austin prefers to disregard such unitary statements as those offered by E. Cassirer<sup>11</sup> and by S. Langer<sup>12</sup> and which, in Austin's view, are too vast to account for the distinction between direct and indirect expression which he considers to be the essential contribution of symbolist poetry.<sup>13</sup> While not wishing to quarrel with his distinction, I feel that he is wrong to consider it unaccounted for in the theories of Cassirer and Langer, both of whom make a distinction between discursive and artistic language which seems to me to be important for the period under study. For both philosophers, language is discursive, art non-discursive. The meanings given through language are successively understood and gathered into a whole by the process of discourse; the meanings of art are understood only through the meaning of the whole, through their relations within a total structure.<sup>14</sup> Thus, in Langer's view, the work of art is a symbol by expressing through its form a mode of human feeling. Its elements are involved in a simultaneous

and integral presentation - hence her distinction between art's 'presentational symbolism' and language's 'discursive symbolism'.<sup>15</sup> I shall return to this question in chapter three; for the moment, it is sufficient to remark that the symbolist poets struggled with the same sort of problem in their art criticism but that their interpretation of certain literary traditions increased the likelihood of their re-imposing in their practical experience of pictorial values the discursive function of language from which they distinguished it in theory.

Whatever misgivings Gauguin himself might have had concerning Aurier's article, he graciously accepted his election to the symbolist Trinity. After all, it was no more than what he had planned for when he decided to associate with the poets in the first place. His motives had been mainly economic: he recognized good publicity when he saw it. He had not worked for ten years on the Paris stock exchange for nothing. As a broker's agent, his job had consisted of soliciting orders from speculators and, if his biographers are to be believed,<sup>16</sup> he was rather good at it. His talent was to serve him well during the winter of 1890. The symbolist poets commanded an audience and though it was, as yet, still a limited one, the painter was in no position to be difficult. Having alienated, through his exhibition in the café Volpomi in 1889, many of the Impressionists who were at last receiving adequate prices for their paintings,<sup>17</sup> Gauguin was dependent upon the campaign led

on his behalf by the poets to find buyers who would finance his planned journey to Tahiti. During the long discussions upon the 'synthèse des arts' in cafés like the Voltaire, the painter would usually remain silent,<sup>18</sup> smiling occasionally when Verlaine joked: 'Hé! zut! Ils m'embêtent, les cymbalistes (sic)',<sup>19</sup> but usually reserving his opinion until outside in the street:

Mais lorsque Gauguin et Sérusier se retrouvèrent tous deux sur la place de l'Odéon, le premier aurait dit: 'Bon, nous voilà maintenant Symbolistes! Est-ce que vous avez compris un traître mot à ces doctrines? - Rien du tout, aurait répondu Sérusier. - Ni moi non plus, aurait dit Gauguin, mais va pour le symbolisme'.

(ChChassé: *ibid.*, p.125).

Chassé was unable to vouch for Gauguin's remark, for his sources were second-hand. Personally, I do not doubt its authenticity, for it is just the sort of thing which Gauguin would say. No doubt he intended it as a reminder to Sérusier, his pupil during the decisive summer of 1888 in Brittany, that the association with poets did not entail any influence of their literary theories upon his painting. Among twentieth-century historians of art, the debate remains open. In modern discussions of painting, the term 'literary' is usually synonymous with inartistic. Furthermore, the tendency to consider non-figurative art as the culmination of modernism has resulted in a certain hostility to the symbol as a means of visual expression. For over half a century now, we have been invited to see colours and shapes on the picture-plane as a self-sufficient process rather than as a sign of meanings situated in some way beyond it. As far as Gauguin's art is

concerned, this critical trend has created a false problem. Remarks such as the one made to Sérusier have been quoted by Gauguin's admirers in order to acquit him of the charge that he became, during the winter of 1890-91, 'la proie des littérateurs'.<sup>20</sup> Yet both the charge and the justification are themselves products of a particular aesthetic theory, one which takes for granted that painting should seek a harmonious arrangement of colours and shapes and concern itself less with expressing 'ideas', in itself an ambiguous programme but one for which literature is presumably felt to be better-suited. But, as we shall see, both Gauguin and Sérusier were, in 1891, perfectly familiar with the theories of literary Symbolism. It would be absurd to see Gauguin as a sort of modern Monsieur Jourdain who discovered to his surprise in the café Voltaire that he had been painting symbols all of his life. He understood better than anyone the place in his art of procedures which Aurier, Morice, Kahn and Mallarmé himself would, albeit meaning rather different things, call 'symbolist'. Nor should their presence be condemned per se, for this will only make it more difficult to see Gauguin's art for what it is, namely, the bridge between the symbolist and the abstract traditions. Thus, though in this thesis, the interrelationships between poetry and painting will mainly be examined from the poets' point of view, this should not be taken to mean that I consider it to be irrelevant as art history. The art criticism written by certain of the symbolist poets has been ignored for too long.

It should be said immediately in their defence that their task was not an easy one. The increasing exchange between literature and painting, which is one of the features of French cultural life during the nineteenth century, made greater demands upon the poet at the end of the century than it did at the beginning of it. In 1890, the range of pictorial styles available to him was considerably wider than Aurier's chronological parallel between symbolist poetry and the art of Paul Gauguin might suggest. Thanks to triumph of Impressionism and the writings of the Goncourts, the symbolist poets found in Japanese art powerful arguments in representation.<sup>21</sup> Thoré-Bürger, among others, had helped to reveal Dutch art (in particular, Vermeer) to the French public, so that the walls of des Esseintes' stifling rooms, covered with works by Moreau and Redon but also by prints of Jan Luyken,<sup>22</sup> indicate, in part at least, the pictorial tastes of this generation. The enormous interest in French eighteenth-century art, for which, again, the Goncourts were in no small way responsible, was an important factor in fin-de-siècle interpretations of the Nabis.<sup>23</sup> Whistler, in addition to painting the 'Arrangement in Grey and Black' (portrait of the artist's mother), 1871, which the Symbolists greatly admired, also contributed to the reputation, in France, of the English Pre-Raphaelites. In the Universal Exhibition, held in Paris in 1878, Burne-Jones's 'Merlin and Vivien' enjoyed a success which was enhanced by the public's growing taste for the Italian Primitives.<sup>24</sup> Fourteen years later, in the Salon du

Champ de Mars of 1892, this success came to an abrupt end when three works by the same painter were severely judged in terms of a new and more widespread public infatuation, shared by the symbolist poets, for the art of Puvis de Chavannes.<sup>25</sup> Above all, the first generation of the symbolist poets spent their adolescence in a Paris whose cultural life was dominated by the struggle for Impressionism. For many of them, the discovery of this new pictorial style would prove to be a major event and one of lasting consequences for the sort of poetry which they wrote.

The familiarity with painting of such varied origin might, in other circumstances, have provided the poets with a valuable lesson in the relativity of artistic styles. In 1885, however, the situation in which art found itself seemed to them so serious that there was not time for such distinctions. Naturalism, they claimed, was reducing the arts to the status of photographic journalism. Immediate and sweeping responses were called for. Inevitably, they created tensions between the poet and painter even when both shared the same basic aesthetic preoccupations. Many of the poets were in their early twenties when they attempted to define new directions for the arts. They denounced the bankruptcy of naturalist aesthetic theory at a time when, as far as painting was concerned, the alternatives were barely glimpsed by those painters who would create them. Many of the poets had simply not had the time to acquire the kind of understanding of the technical problems of painting necessary if they were to



fulfil adequately their twin role as art critics. Poets such as Gustave Kahn, Charles Morice and Alfred Jarry met this problem by following Mallarmé's example and frequenting assiduously the studios of their favourite painters, acquiring in the process an intimate knowledge of their respective aims and methods. This is, however, the exception rather than the rule. Others preferred to transpose onto painting pre-established literary models of one sort or another. The most difficult case to pin down with certainty is that of the critic who compromised between the two, who sought to accommodate a first-hand knowledge of pictorial trends within an aesthetic system, even at the risk of deforming the meaning of the painting which he admired. It seems to me that Aurier belongs in this category.

Occasionally, in literary symbolist circles, voices were heard to speak out against the risks which painting might run were it to hand over to poets the task of explaining and justifying its aims. 'Nos appréciations du dessin, de la couleur, de la perspective et de la pâte ont l'insolence involontaire et naïve des graveurs, musiciens ou droguistes discutant la technique du vers moderne', wrote Lucien Muhlfeld in La Revue blanche.<sup>26</sup> Fernand Vandérem echoed these remarks in the Revue bleue:

Musique, peinture, littérature - cela me fait l'effet de trois compartiments d'un même wagon de train de banlieue, le dimanche. On part ensemble; on sait qu'on va au même endroit. On se regarde par la lucarne intermédiaire avec des sourires sympathiques. Mais ce que disent ces lèvres qui s'agitent, ce que signifient ces contractions de visage aperçues à travers la glace, on

le devine à peine. Il n'y a guère qu'aux stations  
q'on communique.

(F.Vandérem: 'Vernissages', Revue bleue, Tome 19,  
n°51, 13 mai 1893, p.608).

The same writer provided an astute comment upon the attitude to art criticism among many of his literary contemporaries when he remarked that 'il est vrai pour activer la fusion entre profanes, pour combler les distances, nous avons la critique d'art'(ibid.,p.609). Yet for both Muhlfield and Vandérem, it was important for poets to recognize that aesthetic taste and literary virtuosity would not automatically enable them to pass from one art to the other. The warning largely went unheeded, for the French tradition of writers reviewing exhibitions of painting flattered, more than ever in the 1890's, one of their dearest pretensions. 'Il n'y a pas un littérateur que ne chatouille le désir de composer un Salon', remarked Muhlfield (loc. cit.), while under no illusions as to the value of this tradition without a status. Speaking of critics such as Huysmans, Gustave Geffroy and Octave Mirbeau, he wrote:

Ces bons écrivains pratiquent la bonne méthode; avec le minimum de préjugés, ou avec des préjugés qui me plaisent, ils disent le sentiment qui devant tel tableau les retint; leur dire vaut par la délicatesse de leur tact, et la grâce de leurs racontars; les plus philosophes intercalent quelques théories d'ensemble, intéressantes puisqu'ils sont intelligents. Et il suffit. Cela fait toujours passer un sièc/ heure ou deux.  
(ibid.,p.454).

There was little chance of Gauguin, the Nabis or the Impressionists being satisfied with the attitude to painting which these remarks implied. Painters generally have

little respect for critics, whom they tend to consider, at best, irrelevant, at worst, incompetent and vindictive, but this tendency had been strengthened in the second half of the nineteenth century in France by the initial failure of art critics to understand the aims of Impressionism.<sup>27</sup> In his correspondence and diary, Gauguin poured forth his contempt for the critic, whose ignorance was responsible, in Gauguin's view, for his wretched situation. Cézanne was less verbose, but the sentiment was unmistakably the same. They shared the view of art critics expressed by Whistler in his famous lecture, 'Ten o'Clock', of which Mallarmé's translation was first published in La Revue indépendante of May, 1888.<sup>28</sup> Whistler's theme that only the painter was capable of understanding 'la surprenante invention qui aura fondu couleur et forme dans une si parfaite harmonie' (ibid., p. 216) can only have reinforced in the painters the mistrust of the 'littérateur qu'on aime à lire, à admirer quelquefois: mille fois plus dangereux par conséquent qu'un Albert Wolff sur lequel on avait le droit de saliver avec dégoût'.<sup>29</sup> Discussing the same question as Muhlfield, Gauguin adopted a quite different tone:

Comment dire à un littérateur de talent, estimé de tout le monde: 'Monsieur vous avez tort quoiqu'instruit, honnête et convaincu; vous êtes dangereux car vous avez une galerie d'élite qui a confiance en votre jugement, votre érudition - et puisqu'en termes galants vous dites de ces choses...

(ibid., p. 26).

Gauguin's subsequent bitterness towards the literary public was all the greater for his having deliberately cultivated their attentions. Nevertheless, we find his view repeated in many of

the conversations, letters or diary entries of the painters of this period, whether Impressionist or Symbolist. The feeling that painters should write their own art criticism grows as the ambition of the poets to incorporate painting and art criticism within a model of total art increases.<sup>30</sup>

The symbolist poets maintained, not unnaturally, that poetry was the form in which this new art concept would be realized. In it, painting, like the other arts, would become a branch of poetic creation. Explaining poetry's relationship to the other arts, Léo d'Orfer wrote:

Elle les résume tous, la musique par le rythme et la cadence, la peinture par la description vive et colorée, la sculpture par la taille du marbre des poèmes, l'architecture par la composition monumentale des oeuvres...

(L.d'Orfer: 'La grande marotte', Le Scapin, 2e sér., n°3, 16 octobre 1886, p.91).<sup>31</sup>

The idea that poetry might rival painting through a use of vivid and coloured imagery is one more closely associated with the Parnassians. Coming from the founder of La Vogue and the director of Le Scapin, it points to an older heritage: the nineteenth-century aftermath of Horace's famous simile, 'ut pictura poesis'. In fact, R.W. Lee has shown<sup>32</sup> that Horace only meant by the phrase that the two arts revealed both a detailed style requiring close examination and a broad, impressionistic style needing to be viewed from a distance. What, as Lee points out (ibid., p.199), was essentially a plea for greater flexibility in critical judgement was used, along with the equally celebrated remark of Simonides of Ceos that painting was mute poetry and poetry a speaking

picture, by Renaissance writers to elevate painting from its status as a craft to that hitherto reserved for poetry. Leonardo went one stage further, claiming that painting was the supreme art and it is interesting to see Gauguin, no doubt exasperated by remarks like those of Orfer, continuing this tradition in his 'Notes synthétiques' of 1886.<sup>33</sup> It is a historical fact that the Renaissance writers achieved their immediate aims as far as painting's status was concerned but that the sayings of Horace and Simonides were soon being invoked prescriptively to decree that the quality of a poem or painting depended upon the extent to which it employed the methods of the other art form. The result - an excessive value placed upon visual description in poetry and upon illustration in painting - provoked Lessing's outburst in Laocoon (1776), whose subtitle, oder über die Grenzen der Mahlerey und Poesie (or On the Limits of Painting and Poetry), is sufficient to indicate its theme. This potentially-liberating influence upon the two arts was to some extent weakened by the rigid system of boundaries between them which Lessing proposed and which the artist might cross only at the cost of introducing into his work effects considered improper to it. Sociological and aesthetic factors combined to limit the impact of these ideas in France during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>34</sup> This was, of course, a great period of French painting. Public interest in the classic-versus-romantic dispute combined with the development of journalism to create the demand for art critics of sufficient literary stature to

satisfy readers lacking an artistic tradition. However simplistic the concept of 'ut pictura poesis' might have appeared to the Romantics, they had their reasons for seeking to retain it, albeit in a more refined form. In the eighteenth century, the notion of the sisterly emulation of the two arts was a logical one.<sup>35</sup> Both were thought to share the same intellectual and mimetic function of idealizing nature by showing its most beautiful aspects, while the taste for pictorialism in poetry was strengthened by the concept, derived from John Locke, of the imagination as a maker of images. The situation was changed by the romantic stress upon emotional reaction to, rather than intellectual imitation of, nature and by their shift away from picture-theories of the imagination towards a belief in its role as creator of emotional states.<sup>36</sup> These new critical trends, which stressed the essential unicity of the poetic experience, were confirmed, first, by Gautier's transpositions between the arts of poetry and painting and, second, by Baudelaire's mystical theory of the symbol.

It is a measure of the complexity which overtakes the problem in the second half of the century that two aesthetic models as initially distinct as those of Baudelaire and the Goncourts should become closely linked in the art criticism of the symbolist poets. The role of Baudelaire is, of course, vital here. The prestige enjoyed by the author of 'Correspondances' was doubled by that of the defender of Delacroix, an aesthetic system by that of a critical method. For the young poets writing at the end of the 1880's, the combination was irresistible.

I have already said (cf. p. 12) that their formative period must be set against the background of the struggle for Impressionism. The same years mark the mature periods of their other literary heroes, the Goncourts, Verlaine and Mallarmé, whose individual responses to nascent Impressionism result in a variety of approaches to the same painting among the poets of the next decade and help to explain the difficulties which critics and historians encounter whenever they attempt to establish the precise relationship between pictorial Impressionism and literary Symbolism. Despite the fact that Manette Salomon was published in 1867, that is, several years before Impressionism became recognized in the public mind as a distinct pictorial style with the mandatory -ism, there is no doubting the existence of stylistic affinities between the two,<sup>37</sup> nor the fact that the Goncourts bequeathed to the poets of the next decade an established stylistic model. In the same way, Verlaine consciously adopted impressionist procedures in his verse of 1872-73.<sup>38</sup> Hugo's famous description of Mallarmé as his 'cher poète impressionniste' has generally been taken less seriously but I shall try to show, in chapter four, that Mallarmé was, on the contrary, the most 'impressionist' and, in chapter five, Kahn the most 'neo-impressionist' poet, insofar as their response to this painting cannot be explained only in terms of the stylistic model associated with the Goncourts and usually referred to as literary Impressionism. Clearly, that commonplace among modern descriptions of the arts in late nineteenth-century France which claims that Symbolism formed part of the 'anti-naturalist reaction'

in poetry and of the 'post-impressionist movement' in painting needs to be qualified. R. Moser, in her interesting study of Impressionism in the different art-forms, makes the point but offers no solution.<sup>39</sup> M. Décaudin offers a solution but misses the point:

Mais en même temps qu'il l'absorbait ainsi pour le déborder, le symbolisme s'opposait à l'impressionnisme. (M. Décaudin: 'Poésie impressionniste et poésie symboliste', Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises, n°12, Juin 1960, p.140).

Quite apart from my misgivings about a definition of poetry in terms of absorptions and overflows, I wonder to which poets the author is referring when he claims that literary Symbolism 'opposed' Impressionism. Mallarmé never did, neither did Verlaine, nor Laforgue, nor Kahn, nor Huysmans, nor Wyzéwa, so who is left? The answer is Aurier, who, in his articles on Gauguin, sought to establish the painter's reputation upon his leadership of a pictorial style fundamentally opposed to that of the Impressionists. Too many historians have accepted Aurier's argument uncritically, a mistake which those writers whom I have just named did not make. Décaudin quotes Aurier and defines 'le poète symboliste' in the same way:

Mais s'il sait jouir des 'ivresses de l'instant particulier', le poète symboliste ne s'y attarde pas, il ne se laisse prendre aux séductions fugaces du monde des sensations que pour les exorciser et aller au-delà des apparences. Ce qui est fin en soi pour l'artiste impressionniste n'est pour lui qu'une étape dans la quête de l'absolu.

(M. Décaudin: loc.cit.).<sup>40</sup>

But is this definition of 'l'artiste impressionniste' an exact



one? It is generally assumed that it is but Mallarmé would not have accepted it. He would hardly have been as interested as he was in Manet's art had he found there only a 'stage' in the 'quest for the absolute'. Décaudin is quite right to point out that there exists in French poetry between 1875 and 1885 an impressionist current of minor importance which tried to evoke the pure sensation through language and which failed because of the inherent impossibility of eliminating the intellectual content from words. Mallarmé and Kahn, however, did not make this confusion. Their approach to Impressionism was, as we shall see, a rather different one.

That Mallarmé's pictorial tastes were to a large extent adopted by the poets of the next decade is mainly due to his spiritual authority over them. Huysmans and Laforgue also played notable parts in this process. The former discovered Impressionism in 1878, the latter, two years later. For both, the discovery was a major one. Huysmans became a figure of considerable importance following the publication of A Rebours in 1884; Laforgue was in Germany from November 1881 to September 1886, so that his influence was more diffuse, working mainly through his close friend, Kahn. Though the painters singled out for special praise in A Rebours were Redon and Moreau, one might call the novel's aesthetic impressionist in the sense that it contains a highly detailed and refined analysis of the phenomena of emotional (as opposed to sensorial) life. In his imaginary museum of modern art, Huysmans placed Redon and

Moreau, naturally, but also Manet's 'Olympia', Degas' dancers, Whistler's portrait of his mother, Monet's seascapes, a few Renoirs and Cézannes, two Caillebottes, one Pissarro and an early Gauguin.<sup>41</sup> Add Puvis de Chavannes and Carrière and one has a fairly comprehensive list of the symbolist poets' tastes in contemporary painting. The simultaneous presence of impressionist and idealist art implied no contradiction for them, nor may it be explained away with derogatory references to their lack of discrimination or to a supposed misunderstanding of those pictorial trends to which we now refer as 'post-impressionist'. Their equal admiration for the Impressionists and for Puvis de Chavannes, Redon and Moreau is an important indication of their approach to the subject-matter of painting.

The revelation of certain poets and painters to a wider public was not the only contribution which Huysmans made through A Rebours. In a letter to Pierre Louis, dated 19 November 1890, Paul Valéry, after reading the novel for the fifth time, wrote:

Tant pis si le personnage /I.e. of des Esseintes/ ne tient pas debout, si la critique littéraire exposée ne vaut rien, je me délecte avec ce qui reste...

(P. Valéry: Lettres à quelques-uns. Paris, Gallimard, 1952, p.35).

Valéry's phrase suggests that he is admitting the validity of criticisms of A Rebours already made by other members of the symbolist group. 'What remained' was the art criticism. In a letter written seven weeks before to the same correspondent,

Valéry gave the following advice:

Relisez la description des Gustave Moreau! quels morceaux! En somme, c'est pour moi...une suite de très beaux poèmes en prose très nerveux,

(ibid.,p.26).

The idea of art criticism written in the form of a prose poem was not new in 1884. One has only to think of Gautier and Baudelaire. M.C. Spencer seems to me to repeat a fairly general misconception in remarking that, as far as method is concerned, 'Gautier's own influence on art criticism appears to be nil. A descendant of Diderot, he stands at the end of descriptive criticism, which never recovered from his death and the advent of Manet'.<sup>42</sup> Whether the term, 'descriptive criticism', is an adequate summary of the critical methods of Diderot and of Gautier is open to doubt. Diderot's influence now seems to have been as much for a formally-aware criticism as for a moralistic one,<sup>43</sup> while Gautier's approach to pictorial values was, in the opinion of I. J. Driscoll,<sup>44</sup> rather more subtle than has generally been supposed. It is true that the symbolist poets associated Diderot and Gautier with descriptive criticism and that the growing reputation of Manet was, by 1880, throwing increasing discredit upon his early detractors, among them Gautier. Still, it is wrong, I feel, to suggest that the critical method associated with the two writers disappeared with Gautier's death. Literary styles, unlike the authors responsible for them, are not prone to heart-attacks. They do not disappear overnight. If Gautier's reputation as a critic was under a shadow during the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century in France so that

one rarely encounters his name in the art criticism of these years, the same could not be said of Diderot. The 1870's see a considerable revival in interest in the eighteenth-century writer, culminating in the publication, between 1875 and 1877, of a twenty-volume edition of his works, including the Salons.<sup>45</sup> It was all very well Brunetière finding in Diderot's art criticism 'une grande ignorance de la technique de l'art', an ignorance responsible for gaps which were filled 'tant bien que mal par des considérations littéraires ou morales'.<sup>46</sup> Even Brunetière had to admit that Diderot's ideas 'règnent presque souverainement dans la critique d'art' (ibid., p. 466). Baudelaire, in his 'Salon de 1846', had written that 'le meilleur compte rendu d'un tableau pourra être un sonnet ou une élégie',<sup>47</sup> so that Valéry's comments upon A Rebours suggest that the importance of Huysmans was to have achieved a synthesis of what the symbolist poets thought of as Diderot's descriptive and Baudelaire's poetic approaches to criticism. Viewed in this way, a poem written upon a painting became a sort of art-to-the-power-two, a step in the direction of that total art for which they strove. Aurier had this in mind in his first article on Gauguin, the opening page of which is intended to be a prose poem. If, in public, (on occasions such as the Gauguin banquet, for example), the symbolist painters appeared to accept these interpretations, we shall see that, in private, they had certain reservations to make.

In this respect, they point to a major

difficulty in comparative aesthetics: that of evolving a critical vocabulary which would permit comparisons between the two art forms without sacrificing the specific features of at least one of them. Any study of the interrelations of the arts must expect to encounter deep-seated oppositions for it is a subject which has not yet established a satisfactory theoretical base nor been conducted with the necessary methodological rigour. Fanciful literary transpositions of the sort which describe a painting as a symphony in white major are more common in this field than is generally realized.<sup>48</sup> They may reveal considerable literary virtuosity, or even a quite serious response to two art forms but they are of little use for comparative aesthetics. Comparisons must transcend the individual emotional response if they are to be verifiable. Also, they must avoid the methodological error which consists of transferring terms from one art in which they are present literally to another in which they are present only metaphorically. It may sound obvious to say that a painting is not 'symphonic' in any precise sense of the word, yet whoever passes into the field of comparative aesthetics is continually cutting himself on 'jagged' poetry or being dazzled by 'colourful' music.<sup>49</sup> The most dangerous metaphors in this sense are those which involve the transfer, from the verbal to the non-verbal arts, of terms which are inseparable from the phenomenon of language. To speak of the 'syntax' of painting and of the 'grammar' of music is to assume that the non-verbal arts convey meaning according to the same linguistic model as the verbal arts - something which needs to be proved. The

indiscriminate use of figures of speech has given comparative aesthetics a bad name, yet their frequency may well indicate a real problem, the existence of a vacuum which it is the role of the philosopher of art to fill with something more precise. One alternative, in the case of poetry and painting, would be to take a group of poets whose contact with painters and their art was historically verified and to study the way in which they interpreted this painting and (in some cases) the sort of poetry which they wrote after seeing it. It was with such an approach in mind that I undertook this thesis.

Quite different is that of E. Souriau.<sup>50</sup>

Faced with the methodological problem described above of the transfer of terms from one art to another, the author attempts to give a literal meaning to them as part of a scientific system of the arts. He examines the extent to which line in painting may be analogous to melody in music and colour to musical harmony and proposes, with the aid of the most ingenious mathematical calculations, a more exact way of representing melodic lines in the form of visible graphs to show their similarity to the pattern of Arabic ornamentation. Whether mathematical ratios among light- and sound-waves can be transposed into aesthetics in this way is another matter, for other, more variable factors such as the psychological and social origins of style clearly must be taken into account. The main difficulty of Souriau's method, however, is the arbitrary system which he imposes upon the different art

forms. He thus defines seven kinds of perceptible data, each of which gives rise to two arts, one representative, or second-degree, the other, non-representative, or first-degree (ibid., p.97). The system is presented graphically, by three concentric circles, of which the first, nearest the centre, contains the type of perceptible data, the second, the non-representative art and the third, outer circle, the representative art. This gives us the following combinations: 1) lines a) arabesque b) drawing; 2) volumes a) architecture b) sculpture; 3) colours a) 'pure' painting b) representative painting; 4) luminosities a) lighting and luminous projections b) cinema, photography and tinting; 5) movements a) dance b) pantomime; 6) articulated sounds a) 'pure' prosody b) literature and poetry; 7) musical sounds a) music and b) dramatic or descriptive music. T. Munro has already shown the extent to which such a system depends upon over-simplification in its treatment of the different media.<sup>51</sup> Worse still, the cyclical arrangement of the corresponding arts of both degrees is not simply an illustration with which to make it easier for the reader to understand the system but is really intended to allow an easy passage from one art to the next, as in the famous example of the Chopin piece (op.9, n°1) which, as a first-degree art is assimilable to its neighbouring first-degree art of the arabesque:

Qui ne sent qu'avec les coloris convenables, ou simplement en camaïeu... un tel motif pourrait être intégré textuellement par un décorateur, par exemple

à une bordure de tapis?

(E.Souriau, op.cit., p.210).

Some fifty years before Souriau's book, Gauguin and the Nabis had also wondered about the relationship between music and the decorative element of painting and, before them, Delacroix. Only Sérusier, however, in a treatise on painting written after his Pont-Aven period,<sup>52</sup> tried to define this relationship mathematically. The majority of these painters meant by the comparison that painting expressed an idealist philosophy by defying the discursive and intellectual functions of language. In this way, they found a certain common ground with the symbolist poets.<sup>53</sup>

Souriau's system recalls those of the nineteenth-century German idealists with their cloudy speculations upon art as the expression of the universal mind. They share a failure to appreciate the complex and constantly-changing scheme of relationships at work between the different art forms. This helps to explain the relative discredit into which such systematic approaches have fallen.<sup>54</sup> Rather than attempt to establish the interrelations of the arts upon absolute principles, modern historians and critics have tended to seek less ambitious parallels between them at a given period of history. Yet, even here, the result has frequently been to replace one system with another, for the hypothesis behind many such parallels is that there exists a time-spirit, or spirit of the age, which imposes a general 'air de famille' upon the expression of the arts in any given period.<sup>55</sup> This theory has proved to be an attractive one, despite the



important objections which have been raised to it. Thus E.H. Gombrich quoted K. Popper's work, The Poverty of Historicism, in support of his rejection of the mystical view of history which the existence of a time-spirit would imply.<sup>56</sup> Wellek and Warren objected that the time-spirit failed completely to explain the undeniable fact that the different arts have not evolved at the same pace and in the same way (op.cit., pp.133-4). Wellek himself, in a well-known study of the baroque, pointed out the dangers involved in applying the same style-concept to all of the arts,<sup>57</sup> while J.D. Merriman, in a recent article, argued (correctly, it seems to me) that if we call, for example, Pontormo a mannerist painter and Gesualdo a mannerist poet, we are really only pointing to our more or less developed knowledge of cultural history and that the description of both artists as mannerist is not a fact which we discover through an analysis of their respective arts but a term of cultural history with which we begin.<sup>58</sup> Merriman's conclusion, that 'the largest part of claims for the parallel of the arts rests on no more than a huge game of aesthetic free association with a good sense of chronology providing the only side lines to limit the play' (ibid., p.155), is a more serious objection than the rather light-hearted tone might suggest.

In this study, I too have had to use my 'sense of chronology' to 'limit the play'. The years which I propose to study, 1885-1895, are usually referred to as the first symbolist generation and though they should not be taken to be

rigid boundaries (for any study of Mallarmé must inevitably return to the preceding decade), they do seem to offer a greater homogeneity than earlier periods. With due allowance made for over-simplification, there is fairly widespread agreement among historians that there existed in France during these years a divorce, both aesthetic and political, between the public which was prepared to support financially a certain kind of art and the avant-garde artists who were unwilling to meet their requirements; that this divorce was increased by a wider rejection, on the part of the latter, of a society dominated, as they saw it, by the ideals of scientific positivism; that the price which they paid for this attitude was a social and economic exclusion against which they retaliated by forming groups based around Parisian literary reviews (and cafés!); and that there resulted from all this a collaboration between avant-garde poets, painters and musicians which is unequalled in the history of the arts in France. Such at least is the legend of the modern movement and there is a sufficient element of historical truth in it to suggest that, within these years, a solid base for inter-arts comparisons might be established.

Yet even this material, promising though it may sound, does not necessarily eliminate the sort of problems outlined above. On the contrary, any attempt to establish the truth of Aurier's claims for the existence of parallels between two arts as complex as those of French symbolist poetry and the painting of Paul Gauguin makes more dangerous than ever a

specialized knowledge of one art only. In this respect, art historians have tended to come off worse, for Aurier's proclamation of Symbolism in painting, coming as it did four and a half years after the article by Moréas in Le Figaro of 18 September 1886, has created the widely-held impression that symbolist painting in some way developed out of symbolist poetry - hence the neglect of painting in literary histories of the movement (cf., supra, p.4). While the literary historian has usually considered it unnecessary to mention the simultaneous developments in painting, the art historian has felt obliged to refer in a general way to the poetry of Mallarmé and his circle, while visibly feeling ill-at-ease with what he found there. Lacking the familiarity with symbolist poetry necessary for such references, he tends to base any discussion of the relationships between the two arts upon Aurier's five-point definition of the work of art, which he interprets in the same way as E. Lucie-Smith, namely, 'as a guide to all Symbolist art'.<sup>59</sup> Yet the same author feels that 'while the connection between Symbolist artists and the Symbolist literary movement was usually a matter of ideas shared, or borrowed quite deliberately from literature by the plastic arts, the sympathy between Symbolist artists and contemporary musicians was deep-rooted and instinctive' (ibid., p.61)! I find myself disagreeing with everything in this remark. I do not accept that the two arts shared only ideas, still less that painting borrowed them from literature. It seems to me that, in the case

of Mallarmé, Kahn and Alfred Jarry, we have poets whose approach to their art was profoundly affected by their interest in painting, while the entire literary movement found, in the works of Monet and Puvis de Chavannes, the complete expression of its aims and methods. The comparison between music and painting has a basis in fact and one to which we shall return later but it may not be used as a wedge between painting and poetry during this period for both arts at this time refer to music as a model of artistic expression. J. Milner feels that 'Synthetist theory and that of the Parisian literary Symbolists differed in many ways',<sup>60</sup> but does not elaborate. Immediately afterwards, he argues that 'Gauguin's most successful Pont-Aven paintings fulfilled Aurier's demands. His "Vision after the Sermon" and his "La Belle Angèle" both presented a transcendent view of the primitive society at Pont-Aven through painterly means of colour-line relationships and of composition'(ibid.,p.60), though just why such painting should fulfill the demands of Aurier the symbolist poet and critic is not explained. Like Milner, S. Loevgren remarks that although 'Aurier's argumentation may seem diffuse, abstract and barren', he nevertheless 'drew the historic borderline of modernism more clearly than anyone before him',<sup>61</sup> Both Milner and Loevgren confirm the opinion of H.R. Rookmaaker that Aurier's role consisted of establishing philosophically the principles of painting's evolution towards formal autonomy.<sup>62</sup>

I agree entirely with the importance

which these historians attach to Aurier's writings but I disagree with their reasons for doing so. First, the two articles on Gauguin offer a model of art criticism which is based upon Baudelaire's theory and Huysmans' practice (in A Rebours) of poetic criticism; second, they do not contribute to a critical trend away from subject-matter in painting but, on the contrary, reveal an awareness of the mystical content of Gauguin's painting which has been neglected by twentieth-century historians of art; third, to this awareness, Aurier gives a formulation of which Gauguin almost certainly did not approve and which establishes the philosophical basis, not of all symbolist art, nor of that of Gauguin and the Nabis, but of that of Péladan's Salons de la Rose+Croix, which is something rather different; fourth, this formulation marks the beginning of the end of Symbolism as a literary movement. To all of these points, I shall return in subsequent chapters.

Other approaches to the public association of the two arts represented by Aurier's articles also encounter certain difficulties. Near the end of her study of Gauguin and the Pont-Aven school, in a section entitled 'Rencontre avec l'avant-garde littéraire', W. Jaworska asks herself 'quelles étaient les convergences et les divergences entre le symbolisme en poésie et le synthétisme en peinture'<sup>63</sup> and observes that 'les points communs consistent avant tout en une vision commune des choses: l'antirationalisme et le rejet de l'interprétation scientifique du monde...' (ibid.). Her conclusion that

anti-rationalism meant one thing for the poets and another for the painters and that the part played by the poets in the evolution of pictorial Symbolism has generally been overrated would sound more convincing had she quoted a single symbolist poem in support. R. Bacou, in her very interesting book on Redon, suggests that 'chez Verhaeren, Redon trouve une âme affamée d'absolu et un génie de visionnaire qui s'apparente d'une certaine façon avec son propre tempérament!'.<sup>64</sup> A comparison between Redon and Verhaeren may well prove to be worth developing but not in the way attempted here. It is interesting to know that two artists possessed 'une âme affamée d'absolu' but it would be more so to know its consequences for the sort of art which they produced. I am not sure that I know what a 'génie de visionnaire' is, but whatever it is, it is not much use to know that, in poet and painter, it is 'related in a certain way'. Little is learned of the relationships between their art in comparisons of this sort, nor is the omission remedied by saying, as the authoress does, that both arts reveal a philosophical 'angoisse' and stylistic 'obscurité' (ibid.). Cultural pessimism was a feature of more works of this period than those of the two artists named, while 'obscurity' is a term too imprecise to be of great use as a critical term. A more detailed comparison of the poetry and painting concerned would be necessary in order to give some precision to terms such as these. As if the reader had not already guessed, both Jaworska and Bacou have discreetly reinstated the time-spirit. However much punishment it takes, it keeps coming back for more.

The time-spirit recognizes only one chronology, that of calendar years, whereas artists, like everyone else, frequently follow, in their development, an inner chronology more difficult to determine. When, between 1874 and 1876, Mallarmé made that personal breakthrough which is represented by the alterations made to each successive version of 'L'Après-midi d'un faune', he had almost certainly never seen a Gauguin painting. When, in 1888, Gauguin painted what is arguably the most important painting of his life, 'La Vision après le sermon', he had probably never read a Mallarmé poem. If 'L'Après-midi d'un faune' would alone have ensured Mallarmé's authority among the young poets, the same is not true of 'La Vision après le sermon' for Gauguin, despite the best efforts of Aurier. Between 1885 and 1895, leadership of the pictorial movement was invoked by poets and critics for Moreau, Redon, Puvis de Chavannes, Gauguin (briefly) and even for Degas and Pissarro, only for Puvis to finish the decade well ahead of his rivals for this literary public. Poets called the pictorial movement either 'Cloisonism', 'Idealism' or 'Symbolism'; the painters replied with 'Synthetism', 'Neo-traditionism' and even 'Deformation', which, lacking the necessary -ism, had no chance of surviving. The reputation of Moreau, very high in 1884, fell slightly from 1886 to rise again briefly after his death in 1898. Redon was greatly admired by some symbolist poets, severely criticised by others. Puvis emerged for this literary public only in 1886, two years after Moreau and Redon, but dominated their pictorial tastes

for a decade. Aurier's articles were intended as a challenge to the supremacy of Puvis but though the intervention was spectacular, the gains for Gauguin were short-lived. The banquet with which I opened this chapter represents the high point of the painter's acceptance by the literary group and one which he would never regain. Such subtle shifts in the pictorial tastes of the poets are themselves indicative of changes within their movement, such as the relative decline in the influence of Huysmans, the emergence of Kahn and Morice, the isolation of Jarry. Some poets preferred paintings which contained a certain type of subject-matter; others sought solutions to problems of literary form. This thesis will examine the theoretical implications of both approaches. Having done so, it will devote particular attention to Mallarmé, Kahn and Jarry - three poets who, in my view, found in certain contemporary painting (though different painting in each case) an important aid in their search for a new poetic language.

In any study of the interrelations of the arts, the problem of the artistic medium will sooner or later present itself. As we know, 'the medium is not merely a technical obstacle to be overcome by the artist in order to express his personality, but a factor pre-formed by tradition and having a powerful determining character which shapes and modifies the approach and expression of the individual artist!'<sup>65</sup> Though poets and painters may have shared the same desire to create meaningful symbols, only a study of the way in which this



aim led to changes in their use of their medium can show whether they produced similar or different solutions. From there, it remains to be seen whether the solutions reached in one medium contributed to those in another and, if so, whether this contribution was superficial or profound. There will be no fixed recipe for this. Kahn's experience of painting was as profound as that of Mallarmé but the painting involved was not the same, hence the differences which we find in the approaches of these two poets to the problem of poetic language. Jarry and Morice shared the same admiration for Gauguin and saw the same paintings but identical pictorial sources led to two very different kinds of poetry. The symbolist poets loved the art of Monet; the symbolist painter, Gauguin, detested it. It is because of such variety in the understanding of, and the response to, the medium of another art that individual reactions may be generalized only with great care.

It should be obvious that I consider it necessary to accompany a study of the poets' theoretical approach to painting with one of the poetry which this approach seems to me to have influenced. The end of the nineteenth century in France is a period in literature and painting in which aesthetic speculation and artistic practice are closely linked. Since Naturalism was thought to be based upon quite false aesthetic premisses, opposition to it was marked by a strong tendency to theorize. The symbolist poets' taste for theory is well-known but the painters, also, wrote about their art to an unusual

degree during these years. The Nabis, in their sense of insecurity which resulted from Gauguin's call for total liberty in art, tried to situate theoretically the solutions to the problems which Gauguin raised. Several members of the group finally found them in a return to the order of Classicism (Denis) or in mathematical interpretations of artistic form (Sérusier). Gauguin's impulse to theorize was somewhat different. Despite his alleged impatience with theories, he was consumed by the need for public acceptance and, therefore, of public understanding of his work, in order to alleviate his undoubted economic distress, to satisfy his pride and to justify in the eyes of his family his desertion of them in favour of painting. In his correspondence with friends in Paris, he occasionally gave long accounts of individual works so as to enable the correspondent to explain them to an audience. Furthermore, he described his writings as 'tout (sic) de rayons jusqu'au centre vital de mon art'<sup>66</sup> and added the reminder that 'si oeuvre d'art était oeuvre de hasard, toutes ces notes seraient inutiles'(ibid.). Obviously, such notes are not useless, no more than are those of the symbolist poets. Insofar as the critic's task is to provide the best 'reading' which a poem or painting will bear, the poet and painter are themselves privileged critics. Nevertheless, their statements cannot be accepted uncritically, for, in describing their work, they may distort the truth in order to conform to the expectations of a particular audience or fail to recognize in their work elements which are undoubtedly present. Their

theoretical statements may not be discounted as long as it is not forgotten that alone they do not eliminate the need for a close study of their work. Theory is important less for its own sake than for the light which it may shed upon works.

In this study, chapters two and three will be devoted to a theoretical analysis of the role, in symbolist art criticism, of painting's subject-matter and formal values respectively. In both cases, Aurier's articles on Gauguin had the important effect of crystallizing certain critical trends and, for this reason, the painting which he discussed, the theory and method which he brought to the task will figure prominently in both chapters. Chapter two will show the consequences for relationships between the two arts of the poets' use of narrower terms of reference for 'literary' painting: chapter three will set this problem in its wider dimension through a study of the intellectual traditions in whose name the poets sought to establish verbal modes of pictorial expression and which resulted in the compromise represented by their enthusiasm for the painting of Puvis de Chavannes. The study of the poetry will be devoted to those poets whose work reveals, in my view, the desire to reach beyond this compromise and in which we can see stages of that pictorial tradition which extends from Manet to abstraction. Thus, in chapter four, I argue the case for Manet's role in the modifications which Mallarmé brought to the successive versions of 'L'Après-midi d'un faune'; in chapter five, for that of Seurat's scientific Neo-Impressionism in Kahn's elaboration of the 'vers

libre'. Chapter six will deal with a poet who, by taking to their limits the theories of artistic expression implicit in the poetry of Mallarmé and the painting of Gauguin, gave to the language of poetry an unprecedented autonomy. I am referring to Alfred Jarry.

Notes to Chapter One.

1. G.-A. Aurier: 'Le symbolisme en peinture: Paul Gauguin', Mer-  
cure de France, Tome 2, n°15, Mars 1891, pp.155-65. In a second  
article, entitled 'Les symbolistes' (La Revue encyclopédique,  
Tome 2, n°32, 1er avril 1892, pp.474-86), Aurier developed the  
same theme of Gauguin's leadership of pictorial Symbolism. Both  
articles were included in the posthumous edition of Aurier's works.  
See G.-A. Aurier: Oeuvres posthumes (édition établie par R. de  
Gourmont), Paris, Mercure de France, 1893, pp.205-19 and 293-309).  
Henceforth, in this thesis, I shall refer to the first article  
as 'Le symbolisme...', while the second will retain its original  
title. All quotations will be taken from the original articles  
in question.

2. See, for example, Ch.Morice: Demain. Questions d'esthétique,  
Paris, Perrin, 1888. Here, Morice writes that the role of the  
poet is to 'suggérer tout l'homme par tout l'art' (p.26).

3. For a recent discussion of this problem, see L. J. Austin:  
'Mallarmé and the Visual Arts' in: U. Finke (ed.): French 19th  
Century Painting and Literature, Manchester, Manchester Univ.  
Press, 1972, pp.243-5.

4. Thus, Remy de Gourmont wrote that Symbolism lacked the three  
essentials of a literary movement: a leader, a theory and pupils:

De maîtres qui aient le vouloir de commander et d'en-  
seigner, point; de théories, à peine; de disciples,  
néant...

(R. de Gourmont: 'La semaine littéraire', Petite répu-  
blique française, n°5746, 6 janvier 1892)

an exaggeration of course but one which we find repeated at some  
time or another during this period by nearly all of the symbolist  
poets, even when, like Ratté, in Cloches en la nuit (Paris, Vanier,

1889), they reveal, in their imagery and use of syntax, the profound influence of Mallarmé.

5. G. Michaud: Message poétique du symbolisme, Paris, Nizet, 1947, pp. 34-35. The three streams are defined there as: 1) 'poésie affective' (represented by Verlaine); 2) 'poésie fantastique' (Rimbaud) and 3) 'poésie intellectuelle' (Mallarmé). These distinctions remain useful, provided that their terms are not applied in a rigid and exclusive way.

References to the 'literary symbolist movement' should be understood horizontally, that is, as an attempt to make a generalization on the situation in poetry between 1885 and 1895 and not vertically, as a reference to that movement which extends from 1850 to 1920, from Baudelaire to Valéry. Should I wish to refer to the latter, I shall do so nominally.

The pictorial style which Gauguin developed in collaboration with Emile Bernard in Pont-Aven during the summer of 1888 and which allied a new emphasis upon the decorative element of painting (a flatter picture-surface, rich colours and heavy outlines) with simplification in the depiction of observed reality, has become known in art history either as Synthetism or Symbolism. Paul Sérusier, Gauguin's pupil in Brittany, introduced the theory, in October 1888, to a group of young painters in the Académie Julian in Paris. They included Maurice Denis, Paul Ranson, Pierre Bonnard and Henri Ibels and decided to form a group, calling themselves the Nabis. I shall have Gauguin and the Nabis in mind when using the term 'Synthetists'. When I wish to refer to the wider pictorial tendency involving not only these painters but also Redon, Gustave Moreau and Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, I shall use the term 'Symbolism'. This term will not, however, include the painters who exhibited in the Salons de la Rose+Croix, to whom I shall refer nominally.

6. A. Barre, in: Le Symbolisme, Essai historique sur le mouvement

poétique en France de 1885 à 1900 (Paris, Jouve, 1912), gives only two pages out of 414 to 'la réaction idéaliste en peinture' (pp.8-10), referring briefly to Puvis de Chavannes but omitting Gauguin and the Impressionists. G. Michaud, *op.cit.*, maintains the ratio with four pages out of 820 (pp.391-4). P. Martino in: Parnasse et symbolisme (8e édition, Paris, A. Colin, 1950) refers in passing to Puvis and the Impressionists (p.142) but omits Aurier, Gauguin and the Nabis. A.-M. Schmidt in: La Littérature symboliste 1870-1900 (5e édition, Paris, P.U.F., 1957) does not discuss the question.

7. P. Valéry: 'Situation de Baudelaire' in: Oeuvres (édition établie par J. Hytier), Tome I, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1957, p.600.

8. See A.G. Lehmann: The Symbolist Aesthetic in France, 1885-1895, 2nd ed., Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1968, pp.306-7.

9. This use of 'symbolist' to denote that which separated art from non-art is also present in 'Le symbolisme...', p.163.

10. This distinction was made by L.J. Austin in: Etudes sur les poètes symbolistes français. L'Univers poétique de Baudelaire, Paris, Mercure de France, 1956, pp.19-21. A.G. Lehmann in: 'Un aspect de la critique symboliste: signification et ambiguïté dans les beaux-arts' (Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises, n°12, Juin 1960, pp.161-74) considers the same distinction to be an essential element in the poets' approach to painting.

11. E. Cassirer: The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms (trans. by R. Manheim), 3 vols., New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1953-7. See

vol.1, Language, 1953, pp.85-93 and 104-14.

12. S.K. Langer: Feeling and Form. 4th ed., London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.

13. L.J. Austin: L'Univers poétique...., p.19

14. Langer, op.cit., pp.28-32.

15. S.K. Langer: Philosophy in a New Key. A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite and Art, 2nd ed., Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard Univ. Press, 1951, chap.IV, passim.

16. W. Andersen: Gauguin's Paradise Lost, London, Secker and Warburg, 1972, p.19.

17. This rupture with the Impressionists was largely Gauguin's own doing. In his reply to Schuffenecker's letter announcing the plan to stage an exhibition in Volponi's café within the grounds of the Universal Exhibition, Gauguin enclosed a list of his works to be shown and gave Schuffenecker the following advice:

Seulement rappelez-vous que ce n'est pas une exposition pour les autres... Moi je refuse d'exposer avec les autres. Pissarro, Seurat, etc...

C'est notre groupe! [Gauguin's italics]

(P. Gauguin: Lettres de Gauguin à sa femme et à ses amis recueillies, annotées et préfacées par M. Malingue, 2e édition, Paris, Grasset, 1946, pp.152-3).

This edition of Gauguin's correspondence will subsequently be referred to as Lettres...à sa femme...

18. S. Merrill: 'Souvenirs sur le symbolisme', La Plume, Tome 17, n°355, 1er février 1904, p.107.

19. Ch. Chassé: Gauguin et son temps, Paris, La Bibliothèque des arts, 1955, p.126.



20. Chassé, loc. cit. The phrase was first used by Félix Fénéon, who, on the subject of Gauguin's return to Paris from Brittany, wrote:

Quand M. Gauguin revint de là-bas, il était tout en ferveur littéraire...C'est alors qu'il devint la proie des littérateurs.

(F. Fénéon: 'Gauguin. Dujardin', Le Chat noir, n°488, 23 mai 1891, p.1752).

He repeated the charge a few months later:

Aujourd'hui les peintres naissant donnent dans l'aventure de Gauguin, c'est l'impressionnisme à tendances littéraires qui les séduit.

(F. Fénéon: 'Quelques peintres idéistes', Le Chat noir, n°505, 19 septembre 1891, p.1820).

In fact, Fénéon's attacks on Gauguin were motivated as much for personal as for artistic reasons. Gauguin had broken off relations with Fénéon's close friend, Seurat, following the critic's brochure, 'Les impressionnistes en 1886', in which Fénéon proclaimed Seurat as the leader of Neo-Impressionism. See Andersen, op.cit., pp.28-29. F. Cachin, in her book, Gauguin (Paris, Librairie Générale Française, 1968) repeats Fénéon's criticism, quoting his famous phrase as the title of the fifth chapter of her book and generally using Cézanne as a stick with which to beat Gauguin (pp.187, 221 and 227).

21. In a passage on the 'Maîtres japonais', published in La Vie artistique (lère sér., Paris, Dentu, 1892), Gustave Geffroy wrote of Hokusai:

C'est un réaliste...qui va toujours plus avant, toujours plus haut, qui affirme sans cesse l'essence des choses et la force des phénomènes. Une vague de lui s'enfle, s'élève, s'abaisse et fait songer à toute la mer, à la rythme universelle...

(p.109).

In a similar vein, Paul Marguerite found in Japanese illustrated books 'partout la fantaisie mariée à la réalité' (P. Marguerite: 'L'album japonais', Le Scapin, 2e sér., n°8, 12 décembre 1886, p.219).

22. J.-K. Huysmans: A Rebours, Paris, Charpentier, 1884, pp.71-86.

23. Compare the following interpretation of Bonnard and Vuillard:

Ce qui nous enchante en leurs toiles, c'est ce qui nous charme en celles de Chardin et de Watteau, c'est ce spécial et délicieux instinct qui fait le peintre d'intimité.. Ils ont renoué la tradition de cet art que je nommerais de goût éminemment français...

(M. Cremnitz: 'Exposition de quelques peintres chez le Barc de Boutteville', Essais d'art libre, Tome IV, Décembre 1893, p.231).

24. Of the Pre-Raphaelites, André Fontainas wrote:

..nous nous imaginions qu'ils avaient suivi l'exemple... des Florentins et des Siennois primitifs...

(A. Fontainas: Mes Souvenirs du symbolisme, Paris, Editions de "La Nouvelle revue critique", 1928, p.97).

See also Ch.Blanc: Les Beaux-arts à l'exposition universelle de 1878, Paris, Renouard, 1878, pp.334-5.

25. C. Maclair: Mallarmé chez lui, Paris, Grasset, 1935, pp.72-3.

26. L. Muhlfield: 'A propos de peintures', La Revue blanche, Tome 4, n°20, Juin 1893, p.453.

27. See in this respect J. Lethève: Impressionnistes et symbolistes devant la presse, Paris, A. Colin, 1959.

28. S. Mallarmé: 'Le "Ten o'Clock" de M. Whistler', La Revue indépendante, Tome 7, n°19, Mai 1888, pp.205-27. 250 copies of Mallarmé's translation were published at the end of the same year.

29. P. Gauguin: Raconters de rapin, Paris, Falaize, 1951, p.31. Albert Wolff was the art critic of Le Figaro, who had distinguished himself through his hysterical opposition to every manifestation of modernism in painting from Manet's 'Olympia' onwards.

30. Jules Laforgue, in a letter of June 1883, justified the painters' attitude to art critics:

Quel vilain métier que celui de critique d'art, n'est-ce pas? Ce métier a été déshonoré par tant d'ignorants et les artistes ont bien souvent raison de nous mépriser.

(J. Laforgue: in: 'Quatre lettres inédites de Laforgue', La Cravache, n°394, 8 septembre 1888).

In another letter published on the same occasion, the poet applauded Raphaëlli's introduction to his own exhibition catalogue:

...c'est là un bon signal: l'annonce d'un temps où enfin les artistes se décideront à se raconter eux-mêmes...et à chasser des journaux toute la clique des faux critiques d'art.

(ibid.).

In a letter congratulating Maurice Denis for an article on Séguin, Gauguin wrote that, for some time, he had felt the necessity 'qui s'imposait à vous jeunes peintres, d'écrire raisonnablement sur les choses de l'Art' (P. Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.267).

31. Albert Mockel expressed identical sentiments in the following:

La poésie n'est ni la musique, ni la sculpture, ni la peinture, ni l'architecture, ni la morale; mais qu'elle soit philosophique par son idéale portée, que l'ordonnance la montre architecturale, que ses images la colorent et la dessinent, que par ses rythmes et ses harmonies elle atteigne la musique - et que, musique, philosophie, peinture et dessin, elle soit en même temps tout cela, car elle se nourrit de tous les arts et de toute la pensée, comme elle les pénètre elle-même de son vivant effluve.

(A. Mockel: Propos de littérature, Paris, Librairie de l'Art indépendant, 1894, p.59). Mockel's italics.

32. R.W. Lee: "'Ut Pictura Poesis": The Humanistic Theory of Painting', The Art Bulletin, Vol.XXII, n°4, December 1940, pp.197-269.

33. cf: 'La peinture est le plus beau de tous les arts; en lui se résument toutes les sensations...Art complet qui résume tous les autres et les complète' (P. Gauguin: 'Notes synthétiques', Vers et prose, Tome XXII, Juillet-Septembre 1910, p.51).

34. Lessing's text was translated into French for the first time in

1802, after which a second translation did not appear until 1866.

35. See J. Hagstrum: The Sister Arts. The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray, Chicago, Chicago Univ. Press, 1958, particularly chapters I-IV.

36. Hence the growing importance of music in comparisons with poetry. As regards English literature, the most famous study of this critical trend is that of M.H. Abrams: The Mirror and the Lamp. Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition, New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1953. See also G.P. Landow: 'Ruskin's Version of "Ut Pictura Poesis"', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol.XXVI, n°4, Summer 1968, pp.521-8 and R. Park: '"Ut Pictura Poesis":The Nineteenth-Century Aftermath', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol.XXVIII, n°2, Winter 1969, pp.155-64. A rapid guide to the question, together with a useful bibliography, is also contained in G.P. Mras: Eugène Delacroix's Theory of Art, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1966, p.37. For a qualification of Mras's remarks concerning the situation in France, see the unpublished thesis of C.W. Thompson: The Problem of Pictorial Inspiration in the work of French Poets and Novelists, 1820-1830, Cambridge, 1969.

37. See in this respect R. Ricatte: La Création romanesque chez les Goncourts, Paris, A. Colin, 1953, pp.371-9, 417-9 and 460-2; S. Ullman: 'New Patterns of Sentence-Structure in the Goncourts' in: Style in the French Novel, 2nd ed., Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1964, pp.121-45); E. Caramaschi: Réalisme et impressionnisme dans l'oeuvre des frères Goncourts, Paris, Nizet, 1971.

38. See J. Borel's introduction to Verlaine's Romances sans paroles in: P. Verlaine: Oeuvres poétiques complètes, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1962, pp.183-5.

39. Her remarks are too vague to be very helpful:

Il y a un rapport certain entre la musique poétique de l'impressionnisme et celle du symbolisme. La musique de la poésie symboliste ne s'arrête pas à la sensation, elle la dépasse, pour en arriver au symbole. Cependant ce symbole est enraciné dans le sensible, car, comme dit Swedenborg, 'les spirituels et les naturels se correspondent'.

(R. Moser: L'Impressionnisme français. Peinture, littérature, musique, Genève, Droz, 1952, p.276).

40. cf: 'L'impressionnisme, c'est et ce ne peut être qu'une variété du réalisme, un réalisme affiné, spiritualisé, dilettantisé, mais toujours le réalisme'(G.-A.Aurier: 'Le symbolisme...', p.157).

41. J.-K. Huysmans: 'Des peintres', La Cravache, n°387, 28 juillet 1888.

42. M. C. Spencer: The Art Criticism of Théophile Gautier, Geneva, Droz, 1969, p.95.

43. This is due largely to the remarkable work of J. Seznec. The edition of Diderot's Salons (4 vols., Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1957-67) is justifiably famous. His introduction to a selection of Diderot's art criticism (Denis Diderot. Sur l'art et les artistes, Paris, Hermann, 1967) shows clearly the way in which Diderot anticipated some of the most important features of Delacroix's theories of painting (pp.23-4).

44. I.J. Driscoll: 'Visual Allusion in the Work of Théophile Gautier', French Studies, Vol. XXVII, n°4, October 1973, pp.418-28.

45. D. Diderot: Oeuvres complètes, édition établie par J. Assézat et H. Tournoux, Paris, Garnier frères, 1875-7, 20 vol. The writings on the fine arts composed volumes X-XIII.

46. F. Brunetière: 'Les salons de Diderot', Revue des deux mondes

Le année, 3e pér., Tome XXXIX, 15 mai 1880, pp.468-9.

47. Ch. Baudelaire: 'Salon de 1846' in: Oeuvres complètes (édition établie par Y.-G. Le Dantec et C. Pichois), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1961, p.877.

48. Maxime du Camp had a special talent for them. Consider the following description of two Delacroix paintings:

'L'Entrée des Croisés à Constantinople' est une symphonie en bleu majeur, tandis que 'La Barque des naufragés' est une symphonie en vert mineur avec un rouge à la clef.

(M. du Camp: Souvenirs littéraires, Paris, Hachette, 1882-3, Tome II, p.290).

49. Compare the following comparison between Michelangelo's sculpture and his poetry:

This sense of man struggling under a weight that he contrives to support but never succeeds in overthrowing, expressed by the twisted postures of Michelangelo's heroes and by the roughly hewn portions of some of his statues, is evident also in the harsh and jagged style of the sonnets.

(M. Praz: Mnemosyne. The Parallel between Literature and the Visual Arts, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1970, p.45).

50. E. Souriau: La Correspondance des arts. Eléments d'esthétique comparée, Paris, Flammarion, 1947.

51. T. Munro: The Arts and their Interrelations, 2nd ed., Cleveland, Case Western Reserve Univ. Press, 1967, pp.203-4.

52. P. Sérusier: ABC de la peinture, Paris, La douce France, 1921.

53. T.M. Greene, in: The Arts and the Art of Criticism (2nd ed., Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1949, pp.219-24), argued for the use of the term 'rhythm' in the plastic arts. As for the problems which this raises, I cannot improve on the following remarks

by Wellek and Warren:

It seems, however, impossible to overcome the profound distinction between the rhythm of a piece of music and the rhythm of a colonnade, where neither the order nor the tempo is imposed by the structure of the work itself.

(R. Wellek, A. Warren: Theory of Literature, 3rd ed., London, Peregrine, 1963, p.130).

54. The major figure in this reaction is, of course, Benedetto Croce, with his theory of intuition. See in this respect Wellek and Warren, op.cit., p.130 and Munro, op.cit., pp.15-17.

55. M. Praz (op.cit., pp.26-7) attempts to give the time-spirit a more scientific basis by comparing it to graphology. He does not, it seems to me, solve the major problem of all such theories which consists in ignoring counter-examples. It is too easy to select for comparison one aspect of a given literary and pictorial style and to ignore others. For an example of the time-spirit gone wrong, see the random confrontations between literature and painting in H. Hatzfeld: Literature through Art; A New Approach to French Literature. New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1952. L. Hauteceur, in chapter VI of his book, Littérature et peinture en France du XVIIe au XXe siècle (Paris, A. Colin, 1942, pp.173-253), provides a general introduction to the problem during the symbolist period, but its value is limited by the superficial character of the references to poetry. Unfortunately, I have been unable to consult the catalogue, by T.R. Bowie, of an exhibition, held in the Columbus Gallery, Ohio, in April-May 1938, on the relationships between French literature and painting in the nineteenth century. Rochester University Library (the only library, according to the National Union Catalog to possess a copy of the book) has officially reported it as missing. I am most grateful to Mrs. E.H. Husson, of Rochester University Library, for this information.

56. E. H. Gombrich: Art and Illusion. A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation, 3rd ed., London, Phaidon, 1968, p.17.

57. R. Wellek: 'The Concept of the Baroque in Literary Scholarship', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol.V, n°2, December 1946, pp.77-109.

58. J.D. Merriman: 'The Parallel of the Arts: Some Misgivings and a Faint Affirmation', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XXXI, n°2, Winter 1972, pp.154-5.

59. E. Lucio-Smith: Symbolist Art, London, Thames and Hudson, 1972, p.59.

60. J. Milner: Symbolists and Decadents, London, Studio Vista/Dutton, 1971, p.59.

61. S. Loevgren: The Genesis of Modernism. Seurat, Gauguin, Van Gogh and French Symbolism in the 1880's, 2nd ed., Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Press, 1971, p.156.

62. H.R. Rookmaaker: Gauguin and 19th Century Art Theory, 2nd.ed., Amsterdam, Swets & Zeitlinger, 1972, p.154. This book was originally published in 1959 under the title: Synthetist Art Theories. Genesis and Nature of the Ideas on Art of Gauguin and his Circle.

63. W. Jaworska: Gauguin et l'école de Pont-Aven, Neufchatel, Ides et Calendes, 1971, p.237.

64. R. Bacou: Odilon Redon, Genève, P. Cailler, 1956, Tome I, pp. 238-9. A.A. Wallis in: 'The Symbolist Painters of 1890' (Marsyas, n°1, 1941, pp.117-51), makes the same sort of general comparisons as Hauteceur, Bacou and Jaworska (anti-naturalism, the desire to express states of mind etc.) but drastically over-simplifies by saying that 'form in itself can express ideas and emotions was the basic theory of the Symbolists, painters and poets alike'(p.134). As we shall see, this would be true of only a limited number of symbolist poets.



65. A. Wellek and A. Warren, *op.cit.*, p.129.

66. P. Gauguin: Avant et après, Paris, G. Crès, 1923, p.24.

Chapter Two. 'Mere Literature. Definitions of Literary Painting  
in Symbolist Art Criticism.'<sup>+</sup>

Et tout le reste est littérature.

(P. Verlaine: 'Art poétique' in:  
Oeuvres poétiques complètes, p.327).

It is a commonplace of art history to say that the aesthetic freedom enjoyed by twentieth-century painters resulted from the right, so energetically demanded by Paul Gauguin, to 'faire tout ce qui était défendu'.<sup>1</sup> In practice, however, such liberty is rarely so all-embracing. Gauguin's defence of it in fact consisted of replacing one set of restrictions with another. Henceforth, the nymph leaving her bath, the birth of Venus, the fall of the garrison, indeed a whole range of subjects and techniques, were to be excluded from painting, relegated to a class of sub-art which one term has usually been invoked to describe. The term 'literary' has tended to be used indiscriminately in art criticism; certainly this is true in the years under study here, when it bore the weight of much speculation upon the nature and function of painting. In this chapter, I propose to study the different uses made of it by the symbolist painters and poets in order to show that misunderstandings between them were largely due to the poets' misinterpretation of the limits imposed by the painters upon the literary element in painting. Aurier's contribution to this state of affairs was a very important one, for, because of it, poets and painters took up different positions concerning the role of subject-matter in painting. His definitions of pictorial Symbolism, far from bringing the two arts closer together as they were intended to do, brought to the surface important underlying tensions

<sup>+</sup>Footnotes to this chapter begin on p.99.

within the artistic avant-garde in 1891.

Nearly all painting has wider connotations of one sort or another. Such connotations have traditionally been referred to as painting's literary content or have coincided with a precisely-definable literary content. In the history of art criticism, however, the term has been used in a more limited way to refer to the meanings derived from the subject-matter of figurative art rather than from the formal constructions of abstract art. For the symbolist painters, literary painting comprised two main groups, the Impressionists and the academic painters of the official salons. In the case of the Impressionists, they used the term 'literary' to refer to the use of perception as the unifying principle of painting; in the case of the salon painters, to works which sought a strictly-imitative or conventionally-idealized relation to observed reality and whose interest was centred upon the narrative, moral or sentimental associations of the subject depicted. With reference to this second group, the term amounts to a synonym for inartistic and it is this generalized and derogatory use which has made of the word the most damaging criticism which may be levelled against the work of a twentieth-century painter.

In 1888, the year of Gauguin's work, 'Vision après le sermon', salon art was exclusively literary. The story contained in the image was its justification. Official art criticism applied the judgements of a given moral order to this literature of art. The violent reaction which such art and art criticism provoked and which resulted in the rejection of morality,

of the story and, finally, of the image itself is now part of history. It is important, however, not to overlook this context of official art for against it, as much as against Impressionism, the symbolist painters directed their attacks.

The favourite subjects of the salon painters were, in ascending order of preference, the Biblical, historical and military reconstruction and the Nude.<sup>2</sup> Paintings which exalted France's military prowess were gratefully received by a society still embittered by the loss, in 1870, of the Franco-Prussian war and, with it, of Alsace-Lorraine. One of the outstanding successes of the salon of 1888 was 'Le Rêve', by Edouard Detaille, which showed a line of soldiers asleep and dreaming of an army engaged in heroic combat. The painting drew the following enthusiastic comment from Georges Lafanestre, one of the most reputed of official critics:

...le peintre ne lui (i.e. the public) montre plus seulement le courage matériel, l'énergie corporelle de cette chère et noble armée dans laquelle chacun a une part de soi-même; il lui montre encore la vaillance intime de nos petits soldats, cette résignation enthousiaste qui travaille encore leur âme, dans l'affaissement de leurs membres épuisés, et évoque devant eux, comme un encouragement aux sacrifices futures, les fantômes des ancêtres victorieux.

(G.Lafanestre: 'Le Salon de 1888', *Revue des deux mondes*, LVIII<sup>e</sup> année, 3<sup>e</sup> pér., Tome LXXXVII, 1<sup>er</sup> juin 1888, p.666).

Many a future anti-Dreyfusard must have found his political views endorsed in paintings such as 'Le Rêve', but whatever the subject or theme to be illustrated, the nude was sure to please - nudes not so much nude as undressed. There was a nude for Faith, Hope and Charity, for Liberty and Slavery, for Virtue and Vice. In the

museum of J.-J. Henner, 'prix de Rome', there are over 400 of them! They masked their lasciviousness beneath a thin veneer of classical idyll, religious sentiment or bourgeois models of republican virtue. Indeed, though Gauguin and the Nabis, not to mention, Cézanne, were perfectly aware that the salon painters were employing pictorial techniques devoid of originality since evolved centuries before by the classical masters, it was this pandering to false and disreputable motivations which offended them even more. 'L'Eve de mon choix est presque un animal; voilà pourquoi elle est chaste, quoique nue. Toutes les Vénus exposées au Salon sont indécentes, odieusement lubriques', protested Gauguin in an interview with Eugène Tardieu.<sup>3</sup> No consideration of the formal qualities of such art could redeem in his eyes the vulgarity and hypocrisy of its subject-matter. It is rather ironic that the symbolist painters and critics devoted so much of their energy to exposing a tautology, that which consisted of saying that bad literature was bad literature and, as such, had no place in painting. It is, however, indicative of the powerful position enjoyed by official art in the 1880's and 90's.

In attacking the narrative, moral and sentimental associations of such painting, the symbolist painters used the term 'literary' in its sense of incompatible with art. It consisted of saying that to copy external reality for the sole purpose of establishing such relations contained nothing artistic. As such, it parallels the criticism levelled against literary Naturalism by Mallarmé, in his famous reply to Huret's 'enquête':

L'enfantillage de la littérature jusqu'ici a été de croire, par exemple, que de choisir un certain nombre de pierres précieuses et en mettre les noms sur le papier, même très bien, c'était faire des pierres précieuses. Eh bien! non! La poésie consistant à créer, il faut prendre dans l'âme humaine des états, des lueurs d'une pureté si absolue que, bien chantés et bien mis en lumière, cela constitue en effet les bijoux de l'homme: là, il y a symbole, il y a création, et le mot poésie a ici son sens... *[Mallarmé's italics]*.

(S. Mallarmé: in: J. Huret: Enquête sur l'évolution littéraire, Paris, Charpentier, 1891, pp.62-3).

For Mallarmé, as for Gauguin, opposition to Naturalism took the form of a rehabilitation of the artistic means. They shared the desire to return to the purely artistic nature of their medium, of which they felt that Naturalism in painting and literature had lost sight.<sup>4</sup> Unlike the poet, however, the painter extended his definition of literary painting to include Impressionism. Gauguin had this movement in mind when, in a preface to an exhibition catalogue, he wrote of his friend and pupil in Pont-Aven, Armand Séguin:

Qu'il me suffise d'avertir le visiteur que Séguin est avant tout un cérébral, - je ne dis pas, certes, 'un littéraire', - qu'il exprime non ce qu'il voit mais ce qu'il pense par une originale harmonie de lignes, par un dessin curieusement compris dans l'arabesque.

(P. Gauguin: 'Armand Séguin', Mercure de France, Tome 13, n°62, Février 1895, p.223).

Thus, for Gauguin, painting's function was to express, not a copy of external reality, but the painter's idea of that reality. Furthermore, it was to do so by exploiting to the full the formal means at the artist's disposal (line, colour, spatial arrangement etc.). Gauguin understood more clearly than most of his contemporaries that the Impressionists, through their disintegration of

subject-matter through light, had begun the movement away from the subject which he himself accentuated but their replacement of the subject by the painter's visual perception as the unifying principle of painting was insufficient for Gauguin. The visual perception was still directed towards the definition of a subject, which thereby retained its central role. Gauguin's response was to assert painting's formal means. It is this further step away from the external subject as the centre of interest and unity in the painting which enabled Gauguin to qualify as 'literary' painters who, because of their interest in visual perception, would certainly not have accepted the term as a description of their art.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast, the poets limited their attacks upon literary painting to the work of the salon painters. Camille Mauclair described the Impressionists as 'en réaction violente contre la peinture littéraire et le sujet noble'.<sup>6</sup> Jean Moréas, in his laughable martial imagery, wrote that '...sous la victorieuse oriflamme d'Edouard Manet de hardis capitaines et sergents de bataille, parmi lesquels il faut citer au premier rang Camille Pissarro, Degas, Renoir et Claude Monet, mettaient en vastation l'antique domaine des Cabanal, Bouguereau, Benjamin Constant et autres mascareurs de toiles'.<sup>7</sup> Mallarmé, as one would expect, was more profound. When the poet André Fontainas, expressed his enthusiasm for a Monet painting of a tree, Mallarmé agreed by describing the tree as 'ce Monet superbe, un paon brûlant le paysage de sa queue étalée'.<sup>8</sup> In doing so, the poet was acknowledging

an important aspect of Impressionism's achievement - the creation of artistic unity through the mind's play with visual analogies, itself one of the most recent theories of perceptual psychology.<sup>9</sup> For Mallarmé, Impressionism's visual ambiguities were a potentially rich source of poetic metaphor. While Gauguin considered them to be little more than refined forms of salon art's narrative imagery, Mallarmé saw them as revealing an otherwise-hidden unity within human experience. The poet's reply to Fontainas is a discreet reminder of the bridge between pictorial Impressionism and literary Symbolism which Mallarmé had himself established in the mid-1870's. Aurier, in his articles on Gauguin, tried to reverse this process by imposing upon the literary public the idea of a fundamental divorce between Impressionism and Symbolism, despite the fact that Mallarmé (and Kahn) had, in 1891, long since denied it in their poetry. But then, it must be remembered that Aurier's articles were written upon Gauguin's insistence and that the idea of a basic opposition between the two movements was one which the painter was, for personal reasons, anxious to establish.

In a letter to his wife in March 1888, Gauguin poured forth his loneliness and his sense of artistic insecurity:

Que dirai-je moi qui suis seul dans une chambre d'auberge depuis le matin jusqu'au soir j'ai le silence absolu. Personne avec qui je puisse échanger une idée.

(P.Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.127).

Soon after writing these lines, Gauguin was joined in Pont-Aven by Emile Bernard. Bernard was both a gifted young painter and a great



admirer of contemporary literature,<sup>10</sup> To the older painter, he brought ideas and a pictorial method, the intellectual climate of literary Symbolism and the pictorial experiment of 'cloisonnisme'.<sup>11</sup> The effect on Gauguin was profound and immediate. Prior to the meeting with Bernard in 1888, Gauguin's work undoubtedly shows the painter feeling his way towards the simplification of the picture-surface which constitutes one of the main principles of Synthetism. The importance of Cézanne, Monet, Millet, Pissarro and Puvis de Chavannes have all been studied in this respect, nor should one underestimate the significance of Gauguin's own ceramics and sculptures before 1888.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, the first painting to result from the collaboration with Bernard, 'Vision après le sermon. La Lutte de Jacob avec l'Ange', represented a breakthrough for the painter and one which he recognized as such. That Bernard provided Gauguin with the stylistic technique of 'cloisonnisme' may hardly be doubted. It is also very likely that, through his articulate command of ideas, he revealed to the older painter the spiritual atmosphere of esotericism in which Gauguin had long been interested without being able to formulate clearly. Bernard, in addition to revealing a pictorial method, made a coherent mystical philosophy out of Gauguin's random and disorganised sense of sympathy with Brittany, his Peruvian ancestry and so on. In the 'Vision...', Gauguin drew these different strands together.<sup>13</sup>

When reading Gauguin's correspondence of the months spent in the company of Bernard, one is immediately struck by the religious tone, absent from earlier letters.<sup>14</sup> Upon

announcing to Schuffenecker the completion of the 'Vision...',

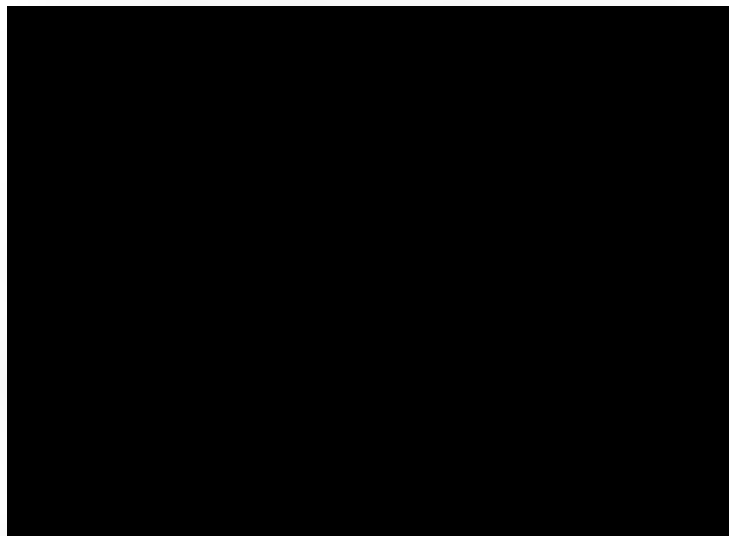
Gauguin wrote:

J'ai cette année, tout sacrifié, l'exécution, la couleur, pour le style, voulant m'imposer autre chose que ce que je sais faire. C'est je crois une transformation qui n'a pas porté ses fruits mais qui les portera.

(P.Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.140).

Whatever the relevance of these remarks on a purely formal level, it is important to note that Gauguin presents the painting to Schuffenecker in terms of an idea, present in most theories of mysticism, of the necessity for individual death as a condition of spiritual re-birth. The references to 'sacrifice', 'transformation' and 'bearing fruit' make the painting's mystical content more explicit still by confirming its subject. The struggle of Jacob and the Angel had already provided a theme for Delacroix, Moreau and Redon among others, though in the case of Gauguin, the most direct source may have been Baudelaire's detailed description of Delacroix's mural for the Saint-Sulpice chapel.<sup>15</sup> Whatever the source, Gauguin completely altered the material of the legend by making its central figure not Jacob nor the Angel, not the priest nor the praying woman, for they are all intermediary stages in the process of spiritual initiation, but the woman second from the left in the foreground. It is her vision,<sup>16</sup> for it is she who is seeing God face to face.

As the title of the painting indicates, the subject is a vision called forth by prayer. As such, its effective units are the human eye (the 'window of the soul') and the hands, joined in the traditional representation of prayer. Upon



P. Gauguin: 'Vision après le sermon. La Lutte de Jacob avec l'Ange', 1888, 73 X 92 cm., National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

( Or, devant cette merveilleuse toile de Paul Gauguin, qui illumine vraiment l'énigme du Poème...tel amateur, réputé intelligent et ami des juvéniles audaces au point d'admettre l'arlequinesque vision des pointillistes, de s'écrier:

Ah! non, par exemple!...Celle-là est trop forte!...Des coiffes et des fichas de Ploërmal, des Bretonnes, et de cette fin de siècle, dans un tableau qui s'intitule: 'La Lutte de Jacob avec l'Ange'!! Sans doute, je ne suis pas réactionnaire, j'admets l'impressionnisme, je n'admets même que l'impressionnisme, mais...

Et qui donc vous a dit, mon cher monsieur, qu'il s'agissait là d'impressionnisme?...

Quoi qu'il en soit, aujourd'hui qu'en littérature nous assistons ...à l'agonie du naturalisme, alors que nous voyons se préparer une réaction idéaliste, mystique même, il faudrait s'étonner si les arts plastiques ne manifestaient aucune tendance vers une pareille évolution. 'La Lutte de Jacob avec l'Ange'...témoigne assez, je crois, que cette tendance existe, et l'on doit comprendre que les peintres engagés dans cette voie nouvelle ont tout intérêt à ce qu'on les débarrasse de cette absurde étiquette d'"impressionnistes" qui implique, il faut le répéter, un programme directement contradictoire du leur.

G.-A. Aurier: 'Le symbolisme...', pp.156-8.

Je me refuserais certes à admettre comme symbolique 'la lutte de Jacob avec l'Ange' dont l'idée est fausse...: c'est là un symbolisme qui ne nécessite pas grand génie, et est d'un enfantillage trop naïf.

C. Mauclair: 'Albert Besnard et le symbolisme concret', La Revue indépendante, Tome 21, n°60, Octobre 1891, p.17. )



P. Gauguin: 'Vision après le sermon. La Lutte de Jacob avec l'Ange', 1888, 73 X 92 cm., National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

( Or, devant cette merveilleuse toile de Paul Gauguin, qui illumine vraiment l'énigme du Poème...tel amateur, réputé intelligent et ami des juvéniles audaces au point d'admettre l'arlequinnesque vision des pointillistes, de s'écrier:

Ah! non, par exemple!...Celle-là est trop forte!...Des coiffes et des fichus de Ploërmal, des Bretonnes, et de cette fin de siècle, dans un tableau qui s'intitule: 'La Lutte de Jacob avec l'Ange'!! Sans doute, je ne suis pas réactionnaire, j'admets l'impressionnisme, je n'admets même que l'impressionnisme, mais...

Et qui donc vous a dit, mon cher monsieur, qu'il s'agissait là d'impressionnisme?...

Quoi qu'il en soit, aujourd'hui qu'en littérature nous assistons ...à l'agonie du naturalisme, alors que nous voyons se préparer une réaction idéaliste, mystique même, il faudrait s'étonner si les arts plastiques ne manifestaient aucune tendance vers une pareille évolution. 'La Lutte de Jacob avec l'Ange'...témoigne assez, je crois, que cette tendance existe, et l'on doit comprendre que les peintres engagés dans cette voie nouvelle ont tout intérêt à ce qu'on les débarrasse de cette absurde étiquette d'"impressionnistes" qui implique, il faut le répéter, un programme directement contradictoire du leur.

G.-A. Aurier: 'Le symbolisme...', pp.156-8.

Je me refuserais certes à admettre comme symbolique 'la lutte de Jacob avec l'Ange' dont l'idée est fausse...: c'est là un symbolisme qui ne nécessite pas grand génie, et est d'un enfantillage trop naïf.

C. Mauclair: 'Albert Besnard et le symbolisme concret', La Revue indépendante, Tome 21, n°60, Octobre 1891, p.17. )

their movements and their relationship to the movements of the soul, the painting's meaning depends. The woman who is experiencing this revelation of the divine has her eye open, as one would expect. It is painted almost exactly in the centre of the work, from where it derives its function as a confluence of many of the image's linear directions. From this central position, it organizes the spectator's participation in the woman's spiritual experience, which the arabesque expresses formally. While the two women to her right are staring down at the struggling figures, she is staring at something taking place above and to the right of them and which their struggle has served to reveal. This alternation between the two scenes - struggle and divine visitation - provides the spectator with a richer experience of the event by presenting its different stages within the same image. Much of the painting's meaning will be lost upon the spectator who fails to grasp this aspect of the woman's relationship to the other female figures. They are not, as is commonly claimed, other members of the congregation, nor are they figments of her imagination. What we have, on the contrary, is the same woman presented at different stages of the initiation process.

Gauguin further emphasizes this woman's exemplary role by showing her as the culmination of three different groups of figures in which, once again, eye-movement and hand-position signify degrees of spiritual ascension. The first of these groups contains, in addition to the main participant in the action, the two women to the left of the priest in the foreground. While

the first woman, nearest the picture-plane, is wearing a uniformly-blank bonnet, the second woman's contains a bow which forms two 'eyes'. They are set in soft blue but are, as yet, sightless, for though she has taken the first step on the path to the spiritual life by closing her 'eyes' (the preliminary gesture to prayer), they contain, at this stage, no vision. The progression beyond the total spiritual absence of the first woman which these sightless eyes nevertheless represent is completed by the open eye of the third woman, who is actively contemplating divinity, 'for I have seen God face to face and my life is preserved'.<sup>17</sup>

The first group, however, derives added significance from its relationship to the two groups of three women situated on the left-hand side of the picture. One group is placed above the other in a sort of pyramidal arrangement. The difference in size of each group functions as a source, in this case, very limited, of depth in the painting and underlines visually the spiritual pre-eminence of the main female figure. Within each of the two groups on the left of the painting, one woman is painted in profile while the other two are in three-quarter frontality. M. Schapiro has shown<sup>18</sup> that since late Antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages, a schematized three-quarter face was a standard form which gave to the exceptional profile or frontal figure the value of the unique or opposed and this is precisely its function in the 'Vision...'. While the schematized, three-quarter face, turned away at right angles from the top right-hand corner, symbolizes the absence of spirituality, the profile

position, turned towards the top right-hand corner, symbolizes access to it. If we then turn to each figure painted in profile, beginning in the top left-hand corner, we find that, here again, each represents a different stage in the ceremony, from the completely earth-bound to the transcendental. In each, the painter defines a different position vis-à-vis prayer. The first has not yet begun to pray; she is seated, her eye open onto the material world, her hands lowered. The second is kneeling, her eye closed, her head lowered, her hands raised in prayer. The third raises her hands upright while her face is no longer schematized as in the case of the first and second woman, but is fully drawn. In the fourth, the kneeling position and the joined hands are eliminated for the process of mediation represented by prayer is, for her, past. Her head is raised, her eye open, for she has progressed beyond the request for knowledge to knowledge itself. To each hand- and eye-movement, Gauguin attributes a particular feature of the ritual. Within it, each detail functions as a sign. Failure to read them as such will leave much of the painting unexplained.

The importance which Gauguin attached to the painting is beyond doubt. When invited to exhibit in the 'Exposition des XX' in Brussels in the spring of 1889, it was one of two paintings for which Gauguin demanded the highest price.<sup>19</sup> When, three months later, his Volponi exhibition alienated the Impressionists, who no doubt saw Gauguin as a threat to the hard-earned public acceptance of their work, the painter typically saw the opportunity to turn this isolation to good advantage by using

it as proof of his leadership of a new pictorial style and one which was fundamentally opposed to that of the Impressionists. All that was needed was a critic to convince the public and this is where Aurier came in.<sup>20</sup>

The critic did not have far to go to see Gauguin's work, for by the time he came to write his article, late in 1890, the painter had left on consignment with Boussod & Valadon no less than 41 paintings.<sup>21</sup> That Aurier should speak, in the first of his two articles on Gauguin, exclusively of 'Vision après le sermon' would, therefore, denote a remarkable critical intuition had not Gauguin himself and Bernard strongly orientated the critic's approach. Upon the painting, Aurier exercised his his theory of poetic criticism:

...la meilleure critique picturale sera toujours celle faite par un poète. Ces ensembles d'idées, en effet, qui compose essentiellement l'oeuvre vraiment d'art et que j'ai appelés le prolongement spirituel, il les précisera, lui, le poète, en les transposant dans son langage propre, vers ou prose...

(G.-A. Aurier: 'Henry de Groux', Mercur de France, Tome 3, n°22, Octobre 1891, p.225).<sup>22</sup>

While preparing an article on Monet, Aurier gave Retté an indication of his critical method:

J'ai choisi pour titre celui-ci: 'Prêtre du soleil'. Vous verrez que je réussirai à donner la sensation de cette peinture chatoyante et baignée de rayons.

(A. Retté: 'Albert Aurier', in: Le Symbolisme: Anecdotes et souvenirs. Paris, Messein, 1903, p.63).

Similarly, in the Gauguin article in the Mercur de France, Aurier attempted to place the reader within the poetic aura created by the pictorial subject, the mystery of divine revelation. While



preparing his text, he must have read Denis' description of Rodin's 'Saint Jean-Baptiste prêchant' as 'l'apparition de la Voix qui marche',<sup>23</sup> for Aurier's theme of revelation is expressed as 'sa Voix...qui est devenue visible...impérieusement visible...'<sup>24</sup> The long second paragraph retains the traditional description in detail of the subject (the Breton peasant-women, their strange headgear, their religious attitudes) and culminates in a series of questions: 'Mais alors où sont les piliers...? où les murs...? où la chaire...? où le vieux curé...? Où, tout cela? Et pourquoi...?' (ibid., p.155). To these correspond, in the third paragraph, the replies: 'c'est maintenant sa Voix... et c'est sa Voix... et c'est sa Voix...' (ibid., p.156), with their deliberate effect of religious incantation. Though the method may recall Diderot's approach to Greuze, the emphasis upon subject-matter as evocation is evident from the use which Aurier makes of a device frequently found in Baudelaire's prose poetry, repetition:<sup>25</sup>

On les dirait dans une église, tant silencieuse est leur attention, tant recueilli, tant agenouillé, tant dévot est leur maintien; on les dirait dans une église,...dans quelque pauvre église de quelque pauvre petit bourg breton...

(ibid., p.155).

Like Baudelaire, Aurier repeats phrases in which slight variations indicate stages in the development of the idea. His description of the 'Vision...' begins:

Loin, très loin, sur une fabuleuse colline, dont le sol apparaît de vermillon rutilant, c'est la lutte biblique de Jacob avec l'Ange.

(ibid.).

The second paragraph closes with the question:

Et pourquoi, là-bas, loin, très loin, le surgissement de  
cette colline fabuleuse, dont le sol apparaît de rutilant  
vermillon?...

(ibid.).

The third closes with the statement:

...et c'est sa Voix, ... surgie, là-bas, loin, très loin,  
sa Voix, cette colline fabuleuse, dont le sol est couleur  
de vermillon...

(ibid., p.156).

The three descriptions represent three stages of the apparition. The first presents the scene through the direct present tense of the neutral 'c'est...' A Biblical event is taking place upon a hill. The second takes the form of a question, the third, of an answer to it. From the second, the event, the starting-point of the vision, has disappeared, thus providing a signal, as it were, for the appearance of spirituality. The phrase, 'sur une colline fabuleuse', is replaced by the very Mallarméan syntax of 'le surgissement de cette colline fabuleuse' (instead of the more usual form, 'sur cette colline fabuleuse surgit...'). The replacement of the verb by the noun, with its longer '-isse' sound, emphasizes the moment of apparition more clearly than the flat 'surgit'. Aurier subtly underlines the change by reversing the order of 'vermillon rutilant' in the first example to 'rutilant vermillon' in the second. In the first, 'rutilant' is an adjective, qualifying 'vermillon' and, as such, denotes a colour-tone; in the second, where it precedes 'vermillon', it functions more as a present participle, thereby confirming the idea of the sudden appearance of light already sug-

gested by 'surgissement'. In the third, 'surgissement' gives way to 'surgie', the process of revelation to contemplation of it. The active verbal principle contained in 'surgissement' is replaced by the simple demonstrative, 'c'est'. In the three descriptions, we thus read, in turn, 'est', 'apparaît', 'est'. The first denotes the real event on the material plane, the struggle of Jacob and the Angel, the parabol's literal narration, the third, the real event on the spiritual plane, the presence of the divine, the parable's internal meaning. The second denotes the passage between the two, the moment of appearance. Like Gauguin and no doubt because he was conscious of the painter's intentions in the picture, Aurier resumed in one text the different stages of the initiation process. What Gauguin achieved by a return to Medieval traditions of figuration, Aurier achieved by variations in syntax which were clearly influenced by Mallarmé.

Aurier's opening page on Gauguin, with its poetic description of the 'Vision...', is sufficient, in my view, to suggest that the critic had understood, no doubt better than many twentieth-century art historians, the mystical basis of Gauguin's painting. It also seems significant that his poetic criticism, though based upon a model already defined by Baudelaire and Huysmans, also employed syntactical procedures closely associated with Mallarmé. The reason for this will, I hope, become clear when I examine the role of Manet's painting in the development of Mallarmé's mature syntax. What is important to note at this stage is that the 'prose poem' with which Aurier begins his article is

followed by ten pages of heavy, neo-Platonist theory, under which the poetic criticism of the first page largely disappeared. Certainly, it was this theoretical apparatus which the symbolist painters retained, some favourably (such as the painters of the Rose+ Croix salons), others unfavourably (such as the Nabis and, in particular, Denis). Aurier's insights into the mystical basis of Gauguin's art were largely forgotten in the approval of, or opposition to, the conceptual framework of neo-Platonism.

The hostility which Aurier's article aroused among the Nabis has rarely been appreciated. It was, however, considerable. Six months before, Denis, in his article, 'Définition du néo-traditionnisme', had presented the first public statement on the 'school of Pont-Aven'. It opened with a resounding formula which is invariably quoted as a starting-point for any discussion of twentieth-century painting:

Se rappeler qu'un tableau - avant d'être un cheval de bataille, une femme nue, ou une quelconque anecdote - est essentiellement une surface plane recouverte de couleurs en un certain ordre assemblées.

(M. Denis: 'Définition...', p.1).

Thus, before Aurier defined paintings as 'ensembles d'idées' (cf. supra, p.67), Denis did so as 'ensembles de formes'. Denis' statement was intended as a reminder of pictorial priorities and not as a call for abstract art nor for formalist criticism (even if one can, in retrospect, see how it may have helped to prepare the way for both). Denis' own subsequent painting and criticism provide sufficient evidence that, in 1890, painters were not yet prepared to dispense entirely with painting's representative element. Rather,

it was a reminder of painting's specific character, namely, that in respect to line and colour, the painter was not bound by an imitative relationship between his painting and the natural world.<sup>26</sup> Denis repeated the point in his preface to the catalogue of the ninth exhibition of the 'peintres impressionnistes et symbolistes', held at the galleries of Barc de Boutteville in 1895. Speaking of the school of Pont-Aven, he wrote:

Pour eux...un tableau avant d'être une représentation de quoi que ce soit, c'est une surface plane recouverte de couleurs en un certain ordre assemblées et pour le plaisir des yeux.

(M. Denis: *Théories...*, p.26).

Apart from the explicit reference to painting's decorative function. contained in the phrase, 'pour le plaisir des yeux', the second statement contains one significant departure from the first. The phrase, 'avant d'être un cheval de bataille, une femme nue, ou une quelconque anecdote' (1890) is replaced by 'avant d'être une représentation de quoi que ce soit' (1895). That is, Denis provided, in 1895, far wider terms of reference for the subject-matter of painting.<sup>27</sup> This is far from being a mere linguistic detail. It marks Denis' conviction that the earlier statement had been misunderstood by the literary supporters of pictorial Symbolism. The 'cheval de bataille', the 'femme nue' and the 'quelconque anecdote' were, as we have seen (cf. *supra*, p.56), the stock material of the salon painters. The appearance of Péladan's Rose+Croix salons convinced Denis that he had merely confused the issue by limiting his attack upon the predominance of the subject to this strictly salon context.

Aurier's prose poem showed the critic interpreting the subject as a means of expressing a metaphysical idea situated beyond the literal transcription of external reality achieved in salon art. Thus, the 'Vision...' showed 'la farouche bête primordiale domptée par les philtres enchanteurs de la Chimère'.<sup>28</sup> Both Denis and Aurier were agreed that painting should henceforth seek to express ideas, but while the former felt that the artistic means at the painter's disposal were indispensable to this expression, the latter, through his long exposition of Neo-Platonism, created among his readers the impression that the pictorial subject remained the means of access to the world of Platonic Ideas.

Aurier's definition of symbolist painting was, during the 1890's, even more celebrated than that of Denis:

...l'oeuvre d'art...sera:

- 1° Idéiste, puisque son idéal unique sera l'expression de l'Idée;
- 2° Symboliste, puisqu'elle exprimera cette Idée par des formes;
- 3° Synthétique, puisqu'elle écrira ces formes, ces signes, selon un mode de compréhension générale;
- 4° Subjective, puisque l'objet n'y sera jamais considéré en tant qu'objet, mais en tant que signe perçu par le sujet;
- 5° (C'est une conséquence) décorative - car la peinture décorative proprement dite, telle que l'ont comprise les Egyptiens, très probablement les Grecs et les Primitifs, n'est rien autre chose qu'une manifestation d'art à la fois subjectif, synthétique, symboliste et idéiste.

(ibid., pp.162-3).

The critic added a sixth condition, that of the necessity for art to communicate 'cette transcendente émotivité, si grande et si précieuse, qui fait frissonner l'âme devant le drame ondoyant des

abstractions' (ibid., p.164). Thirteen years later, in an article written on the occasion of Gauguin's death, Denis referred to Aurier's definition as 'la forme systématique et raffinée' of Gauguin's ideas on painting.<sup>29</sup> It is a moot point which of these two adjectives concealed the greater unease as far as Denis was concerned: 'systématique', which smacked of that distortion of artistic phenomena which resulted from forcing them into a repressive, conceptual framework, or 'rafinée', which is only just more polite than a later reference by the same critic to Aurier's Neo-Platonism as 'tout le clinquant pseudo-mystique cher aux poètes'.<sup>30</sup> On another occasion, Denis maintained that Aurier's definition 'n'a jamais été comprise des peintres',<sup>31</sup> but that, had they understood it, they would not have liked it:

...les formules platoniciennes d'Aurier ne convenaient pas exactement à des artistes trop amoureux de peinture, trop avide de sensation directe pour s'installer dans 'le spirituel et l'intangible'.

(M. Denis: 'L'Epoque du symbolisme', p.176).

Leaving aside possible misgivings at Aurier's account of the decorative function as the common denominator of Greek, Egyptian and Primitive art, the problems were no doubt posed, not by the first nor second of Aurier's propositions, which Denis would have found acceptable, but by the third and fourth, 'synthétique' et 'subjective'. In the case of 'synthétique', the critic managed to satisfy neither Denis, the synthetist painter, nor Morice, the symbolist literary critic. We have briefly seen Denis' lack of enthusiasm. Morice wrote of Aurier's definition in the following way:

Si en effet sont synthétiques toutes les oeuvres d'art où les formes, les signes de l'idée, sont écrites selon un mode de compréhension générale, il n'y a guère et il n'y a jamais eu que, bonnes ou mauvaises, des oeuvres d'art synthétiques. Et puis, c'est au point de vue pictural seulement que nous devons nous placer ici, et il est clair que la définition d'Albert Aurier vise tous les genres et toutes les techniques d'art.

(Ch. Morice: Paul Gauguin, Paris, Floury, 1920, p.178).

Morice provides here astute confirmation of Denis' own suspicions that the pictorial precision of the term, formulated at Font-Aven to describe the intensification and concentration of the natural impression through the decorative elements of the painting, had proved to be an obstacle to the total art to which Aurier aspired. How the critic arrived at his definition will be obvious from the following lines:

Synthétiser, ce n'est pas nécessairement simplifier dans le sens de supprimer certaines parties de l'objet: c'est simplifier dans le sens de rendre intelligible. C'est en somme, hiérarchiser: soumettre chaque tableau à un seul rythme, à une dominante, sacrifier, subordonner, - généraliser.

(M. Denis: 'Cézanne', p.132).

Denis' article on Cézanne, though written in 1907, is a retrospective discussion of the artistic situation in Paris in 1890. One has only to compare the terms which Denis uses with those of two Gauguin letters to Schuffenecker, written during the summer of 1888, to be sure of this.<sup>32</sup> There can be little doubt that Aurier's source was Emile Bernard, who, we remember, had sent him written notes during the preparation of his article (cf. *infra*, p.104, note 20). The impression which Aurier created among the Nabis of paying little more than lip-service to their interest in the tech-



nical problems raised by Gauguin's work of the Pont-Aven period seemed to them to be confirmed by his definition of 'subjective'. To say that all in nature was but an 'Idée signifiée' and that, in the work of art, 'l'objet n'y sera jamais considéré en tant qu'objet, mais en tant que signe' seemed to open the way to equations of idea and image of the most basic, allegorical kind on the part of those critics less well versed than Aurier in the problems of aesthetic form. The definition of 'symboliste' ('puisque'elle exprimera cette Idée par des formes'), buried as it was under pages of neo-Platonist theory, did not sufficiently counterbalance, as far as Denis was concerned, the close association of the painting's subject-matter and the spiritual truth expressed.<sup>33</sup>

Far from seeing in Aurier's defence of Gauguin the progress of Nabi ideas on the role in painting of the medium's expressive potential, Denis openly accused those literary critics who had brought Aurier's idealist philosophy to their art criticism of having destroyed the stylistic trends opened up by the Pont-Aven school.<sup>34</sup> Denis took the opportunity of the Seguin exhibition referred to above (cf. p. 58) to urge the public to re-discover what the 'peintres synthétistes ou symbolistes' (as Denis described them) had sought to achieve:

On ne le sait plus. De jeunes littérateurs, des collégiens savants, comme les appelle Gauguin, se sont mêlés de parler peinture. Ils ont brouillé toutes les notions... Ils ont contribué à faire verser dans la littérature, dans le trompe-l'œil idéaliste, (un genre d'ailleurs vieillot) - le bel effort d'Art de cette Ecole de Pont-Aven...

(M. Denis: 'A propos de l'exposition d'A. Seguin, chez le Baro de Boutteville', La Plume, Tome 6, n°141, 1er mars 1895, p.118).

By the 'trompe l'oeil idéaliste', the author had in mind Péladan's Rose+Croix salons and their substitution of the Academy's noble subjects with their own. Aurier's contribution to these salons lay in his having made this substitution philosophically respectable. In the rules which he drew up for his salons, Péladan rejected certain subjects, no matter how well, even if perfectly, executed. In addition to the academic subjects, they included all representations: of contemporary life, all land- and seascapes, all still-lives.<sup>35</sup> Small wonder that Péladan considered Manet and Courbet to be the shame of French nineteenth-century painting.<sup>36</sup> Other subjects were always welcome, no matter how imperfectly executed. They included Catholic dogma, Oriental theogonies (except those of the yellow races!), allegory (as exemplified by the painting of Puvis de Chavannes), the 'sublime' nude, by which Péladan had Correggio in mind and the expressive head, by which, Leonardo and Michaelangelo. That Denis should consider Aurier to be largely responsible for such an exclusive interest in subject-matter is significant insofar as it implies that Aurier maintained a continuity of approach to symbolist and pre-symbolist art and not that discontinuity upon which Aurier himself insisted and for which subsequent art historians have tended to take him at his word. It is, therefore, interesting to find other literary-symbolist critics objecting to the rules of the Rose+Croix salons precisely because they would eliminate the sort of landscape painting in which the Impressionists had excelled. Raymond Bouyer is a case in point:

Proscrire des cadres la nature, la vie, la chair, le

milieu réel; les fleurs, les bodegones, les fruits et autres accessoires... c'est nuire volontairement par exagération puritaine à la cause sainte des fées ou des muses.

(R. Bouyer: 'Le Salon de la Rose+Croix (III<sup>e</sup> geste; galerie des artistes modernes)', L'Ermitage, Tome 8, n°5, Mai 1894, p.308).

The refusal of impressionist, in favour of mystical, subjects is an indication of the way in which esoteric philosophies breathed new life into the flagging fortunes of decadentism from 1890. Aurier is a case in point here for his definition of mysticism in art contained a strongly decadent approach to nature. On one occasion, he praised Carrière on the grounds that this painter 'éloigne de nous la nature, la détestable nature, la vie, la sale et banale et méchante vie'.<sup>37</sup> On another, he claimed that the work of art was '...en valeur, inversement proportionnelle à l'influence des milieux qu'elle a subi'.<sup>38</sup> In both cases, the critic took over des Esseintes' rejection of Taine's sociologically-based criticism.<sup>39</sup>

If we now turn to another representative of pictorial Symbolism during these years, Odilon Redon, we find that the debate which turned upon the differing attitudes of Aurier and Denis to the role of the subject, to the limits of the literary, in painting also played an important part in the evolution of critical reaction to this painter. In the context of our problem, Redon presents a very interesting case, since critics frequently qualified him as a literary painter while he himself persistently denied that he was any such thing. The pattern of critical judgement was established, in Redon's case, in 1883 by

Huysmans:

Si nous exceptons Goya dont le côté spectral est moins divaguant et plus réel, si nous exceptons encore G. Moreau dont M. Redon est, en somme, dans ses parties saines, un bien lointain élève, nous ne lui trouverons d'ancêtres que parmi les musiciens peut-être et certainement parmi les poètes.

C'est en effet, une véritable transposition d'un art dans un autre.

(J.-K. Huysmans: 'Note sur l'exposition du Gaulois' in: L'art moderne, Paris, Charpentier, 1883, p.276).

This close association of Redon and literature seemed to be underlined by Denis' reference to him as 'très ~~exactement~~ le Mallarmé de la peinture'<sup>40</sup> and Kahn's as a 'littérateur dévoyé dans les moyens graphiques'.<sup>41</sup> It must be said that the painter himself in some ways encouraged the idea that he was a writer who had somehow strayed into another branch of artistic activity, for while recognizing that Huysmans' judgements revealed more of Huysmans than of himself, he was, having spent over ten years working in isolation, only too grateful for the publicity provided by the critic's review to publicly dissociate himself from its contents.<sup>42</sup> In addition, Redon's openly-avowed love of literature helped to establish this critical reaction to his work in the public mind during the ten years which followed Huysmans' article.<sup>43</sup>

The same writer's novel, A Rebours, helped to link the name of Redon closely to that of the other hero of decadent artificiality, Moreau. The Nabis, however, sought to associate the name of Redon to that of a painter to whom the twentieth century has accorded a quite different stature, Paul Cézanne and this, with reference to that wider definition of literary which we examined above in the case of Aurier and Denis.

Realising the inadequacy of an approach to Redon's art of the kind shown by Octave Mirbeau, who, when confronted with an image of a flower bearing a human eye upon its stem, wondered whether it represented consciousness, unconsciousness, uncertainty, universal suffering or simply a pin for a necktie,<sup>44</sup> Denis felt that the power of Redon's imagery could not be explained only in terms of simple, allegorical interpretations. For Denis, as we have seen, such meanings were as literary as the explicit narrative of much academic art, for different levels of meaning did not change the fact that the subject retained its central narrative function. That Redon was, for the Nabis, something other than Huysmans' mad poet is seen from the tribute paid to Redon in Denis' article on Cézanne. Speaking of the admiration in which Cézanne was held by Gauguin and the Nabis, Denis wrote:

J'ajoute qu'ils avaient parallèlement la plus grande estime pour Odilon Redon. Odilon Redon avait cherché lui aussi en dehors de la nature copiée et de la sensation, les équivalents plastiques de ses émotions et de ses rêves...Oui, Redon est à l'origine du symbolisme, en tant qu'expression plastique de l'idéal...

(M. Denis: 'Cézanne', p.126).

In his definition of the artistic symbol as an emotional equivalent, Denis underlines the word, 'plastique', so as to insist that the domain of the literary extended into all painting in which an emotional state was not expressed through an autonomous formal structure. We find Redon himself struggling with the same problem some ten years before Denis discovered, in 'Vision après le sermon', the principles of the new painting. In a diary-entry dated 5 August 1879, Redon attributed his sense of Rembrandt's superiority over

Rubens to that of the 'invention plastique' over the 'idée littéraire'.<sup>45</sup> He first tries to understand why 'Rubens parle une langue que je ne comprends pas'(ibid.):

...il a compris la foule, il l'a vue; il a peint la Douleur, la Bonté, la Grâce, la Beauté abandonnée des enfants et des femmes; il a touché, je crois, aux fibres les plus sensibles du coeur humain; il a, sans doute, toutes les cordes suprêmes de la lyre éternelle sur laquelle les grands hommes ont fait entendre les angoisses de notre destinée; il a tout cela et n'a pas une ombre, un soupçon de représentation plastique - il n'a ni la ligne, ni le plan, ni la simplicité, ni rien de ce qui est pour la sage et claire et simple présentation des choses.

(ibid.,p.78).

In Rembrandt's 'Angel Gabriel', Redon found the same preoccupation with the human condition, with the advantage in Rembrandt that the philosophical meaning of the painting was borne entirely upon its formal qualities:

...l'unique accent de cette composition sublime est dans la lumière surnaturelle qui illumine et qui dore le message divin. Là, dans la nature pure et simple du ton et dans les délicatesses du clair-obscur, est le secret de l'oeuvre tout entière, invention toute pittoresque, qui incarne l'idée et lui donne, pour ainsi parler, de la chair et du sang. Cela n'a rien à démêler avec l'anecdote.

(ibid.,pp.79-80).

Thus, for Redon, painting, which was but a shallow vessel for narrative or comment (literature being, in his view, far more suitable for this purpose), might be very profound when used to express a deeply-felt emotion. But emotion alone was an insufficient guarantee against literary painting. For this reason, Rubens occupied a lower position in Redon's hierarchy of painters than Rembrandt. His comparison between the two led Redon to formulate the question which so preoccupied the Nabis in 1890:

Où est la limite de l'idée littéraire en peinture?  
On s'entend. Il y a idée littéraire toutes les fois  
qu'il n'y a pas invention plastique.

Cela n'exclut pas de l'invention, mais une idée quel-  
conque que pourront exprimer les mots, mais alors elle  
est subordonnée à l'impression produite par les tâches  
purement pittoresques, et n'y paraît qu'à titre d'acces-  
soire et, en quelque sorte, de superflu. Un tableau  
ainsi conçu laissera dans l'esprit une impression durable  
que la parole ne pourra reproduire, à la seule exception  
d'une parole sous forme d'art, un poème par exemple.

Dans une composition littéraire, nulle impression pro-  
duite. L'effet réside uniquement dans les idées qu'elle  
fait naître et qui se produisent surtout par le souvenir.  
Il n'y a pas alors d'oeuvre d'art réelle; un récit vaut  
mieux; c'est de la pure anecdote.

(ibid., pp.78-9).

There are several remarks to be made at this point. First of all,  
we find Redon repeating the tautology which we mentioned above (cf.  
p.57) which consisted of saying that anecdotes were inferior liter-  
ature and that, as such, painting should have nothing to do with  
them. He does not condemn outright the 'idée littéraire', the  
meanings derived from the treatment of a given subject, as incom-  
patible with aesthetic value, provided that this idea does not  
take precedence over the purely visual impression produced by a  
certain arrangement of lines and colours. It is easy to see why  
Denis considered Redon a congenial contemporary. From here, however,  
Redon goes on to say that the subordination of idea to formal  
arrangement must be such that the complete disappearance of the  
idea would not lessen the image's emotional impact upon the spec-  
tator. At this point, it is impossible to take the painter literally,  
if only in the light of his own artistic production, in which ex-  
pressive potential is related as much to the strangeness of the  
subject-matter as to the formal elements.<sup>16</sup> Finally, Redon makes a

comparison between a poem and a painting which is based upon their shared impact upon the reader/spectator's sensuous receptivity and which unwittingly confirms the symbolist poets' approach to the Impressionists. For Redon, the means by which the painter aroused the spectator's emotional response were to be found in what he called 'ambiguïté', the mind's play with analogies:

Mes dessins inspirent et ne se définissent pas. Ils ne déterminent rien. Ils nous placent, ainsi que la musique, dans le monde ambigu de l'indéterminé. [Redon's italics].  
(ibid., p.28).

These lines inevitably invoke Mallarmé's famous criticism of the Parnassians:

La contemplation des objets, l'image s'envolant des rêveries suscitées par eux, sont le chant: les Parnassiens, eux, prennent la chose entièrement et la montrent; par là ils manquent de mystère; ils retirent aux esprits cette joie délicieuse de croire qu'ils créent. Nommer un objet, c'est supprimer les trois quarts de la jouissance du poème qui est faite du bonheur de deviner peu à peu; le suggérer, voilà le rêve. C'est le parfait usage de ce mystère qui constitue le symbole... [Mallarmé's italics].  
(S. Mallarmé, in: J. Huret: 'Enquête....' p.60).

For Mallarmé, the type of subject-matter employed, whether Monet's tree or Redon's winged head, was less important than the manner of its use. Its essential task was to avoid the intellectual restrictions which specific meanings imposed upon the reader/spectator. That both Mallarmé and Redon referred to the art of music in order to define this procedure is in itself an indication of the importance which they attached to the part played by formal elements in the mind's play with analogies.

Redon's own work became the centre of the literary/pictorial controversy following the important exhibition



held in the Durand-Ruel galleries in Paris in March-April, 1894. Not surprisingly, many reviews remained within the model, established by Huysmans, of the mad poet with a taste for fantastic subjects. Jean Lorrain found in Redon's art 'la déformation totale, inéluctable du cerveau humain en proie à l'idéal, la vérité rendue tangible de la folie, mère de l'extase',<sup>47</sup> while Edmond Pilon wrote:

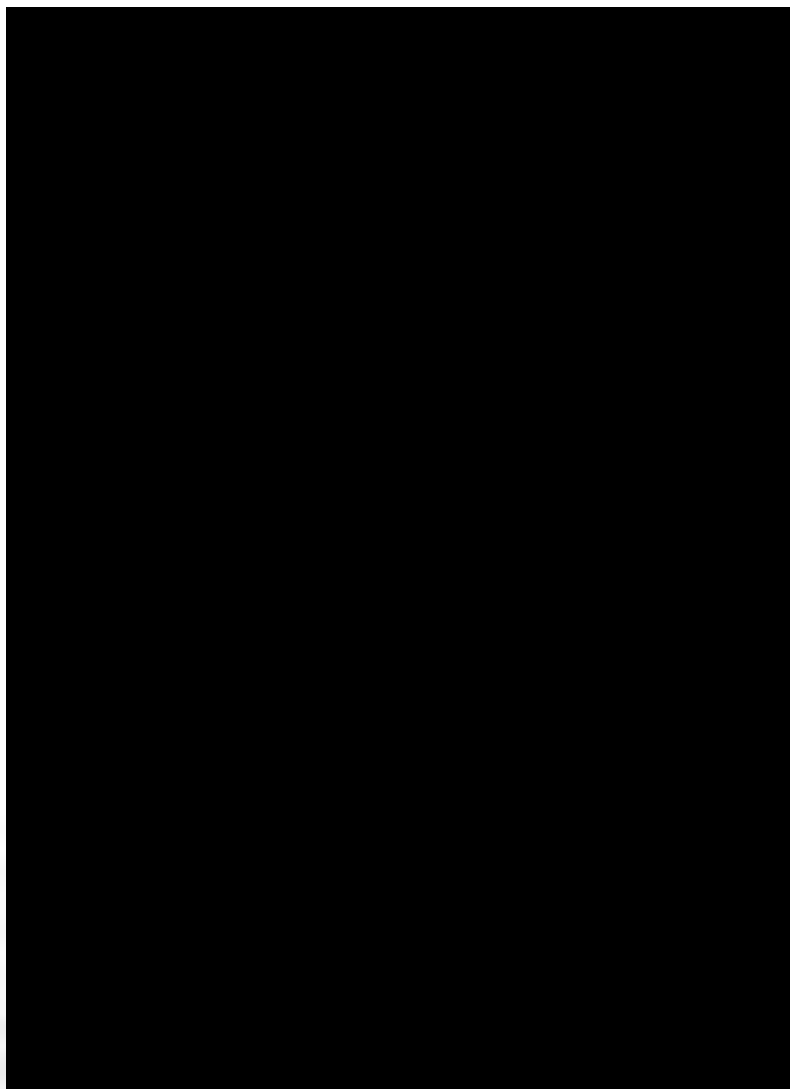
Dans M. Redon il y a du Gilles de Retz, du docteur Faust, de l'Edgar Poe, de la sorcellerie et du mysticisme, images évocatoires de supérieures hallucinations et d'extraordinaires visions de songes fantastiques.

(E. Pilon: 'Oeuvres d'Odilon Redon (chez Durand-Ruel)', La Plume, Tome 5, n°121, 1er mai 1894, p.171).

According to this view, Redon's art consisted of fantastic subjects gleaned from a variety of literary sources - Gilles de Retz, Faust, Poe, everyone but Redon in fact. It was criticism like this which pushed the artist and his supporters to the other extreme, that of denying altogether the importance of Redon's subjects. The basis of this trend in Redon criticism was established by Thadée Natanson, who, in an important article, attacked the view of Huysmans that Redon was an 'artiste littéraire' and his art, 'de littérature dessinée'. For Natanson, as for the Nabis, Redon's art, far from being a transposition of ideas from one artistic medium to another, was characterised by a complete formal autonomy. The suggestive ambiguity of this imagery was entirely created, he maintained, by the artist's use of line, colour and clair-obscur:

L'imprécision à qui le rêve doit le plus sûr de son charme, comment peut-elle s'arrêter aux limites nécessaires d'une expression plastique? A la condition, ici réalisée, que, si loin que le rêve entraîne l'artiste... toujours il lui précise des formes dont la seule matière - couleurs ou lignes et leur composition - fait le sens.

(T. Natanson: 'Exposition Odilon Redon', La Revue blanche, Tome 6, n°31, Mai 1894, p.471).



O. Redon: 'Vision', lithograph, 1879 (n°8 of album: Dans le rêve).  
27.4 X 19.8 cm., Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale,  
Paris.

To anyone familiar with Redon's imagery, it is clear that in these lines Natanson has taken up an extreme position. In his desire to correct an injustice, he has succeeded in replacing one source of confusion with another. By ending the association of Redon's name with that of Moreau, Natanson helped to remove a misunderstanding which had falsified interpretations of Redon's art. From his article dates, however, the even more dubious public association of Redon and Cézanne.<sup>48</sup> The exaggerated attribution of the suggestive qualities of Redon's images to purely formal qualities led to the idea that he and Cézanne were pursuing the same objectives in painting and to the definition of both as Symbolists:

'La nature, disait Cézanne, j'ai voulu la copier, je n'arrivai pas. Mais j'ai été content de moi lorsque j'ai découvert que le soleil, par exemple, ne se pouvait pas reproduire, mais qu'il fallait le représenter, par autre chose... par de la couleur'. Voilà la définition du symbolisme tel que nous l'entendions vers 1890.

(M. Denis: 'Cézanne', p.126).

This identification of the two painters within a definition of Symbolism as the search for plastic equivalents of emotions was a fairly understandable one in the 1890's.<sup>49</sup> Denis can hardly be blamed for not realising at this point the direction which Cézanne's painting would take. Cézanne himself was far from certain. On the other hand, the possibility of confusion was increased because Redon's work, however much admired for its intrinsic qualities, was also coerced into taking up a position in the literary/pictorial argument. In the first half of the decade, a false situation was created by the imperialistic determination of some symbolist writers to

To anyone familiar with Redon's imagery, it is clear that in these lines Natanson has taken up an extreme position. In his desire to correct an injustice, he has succeeded in replacing one source of confusion with another. By ending the association of Redon's name with that of Moreau, Natanson helped to remove a misunderstanding which had falsified interpretations of Redon's art. From his article dates, however, the even more dubious public association of Redon and Cézanne.<sup>48</sup> The exaggerated attribution of the suggestive qualities of Redon's images to purely formal qualities led to the idea that he and Cézanne were pursuing the same objectives in painting and to the definition of both as Symbolists:

'La nature, disait Cézanne, j'ai voulu la copier, je n'arrivai pas. Mais j'ai été content de moi lorsque j'ai découvert que le soleil, par exemple, ne se pouvait pas reproduire, mais qu'il fallait le représenter, par autre chose...par de la couleur'. Voilà la définition du symbolisme tel que nous l'entendions vers 1890.

(M. Denis: 'Cézanne', p.126).

This identification of the two painters within a definition of Symbolism as the search for plastic equivalents of emotions was a fairly understandable one in the 1890's.<sup>49</sup> Denis can hardly be blamed for not realising at this point the direction which Cézanne's painting would take. Cézanne himself was far from certain. On the other hand, the possibility of confusion was increased because Redon's work, however much admired for its intrinsic qualities, was also coerced into taking up a position in the literary/pictorial argument. In the first half of the decade, a false situation was created by the imperialistic determination of some symbolist writers to

subordinate painting to a branch of poetic activity and by the painters' determination to resist this process by asserting painting's formal independence.<sup>50</sup> In this situation, terms such as literary and pictorial take on a polemical character which limits their capacity to describe works of art. The charge that a painter is really a writer in disguise provokes the countercharge that he is completely untainted by a literary approach. Confused answers are frequently the result of wrong questions. Mirbeau's puzzled question and Natanson's exaggerated reply are the two poles between which Redon's art was tossed during the final decade of the nineteenth century in France. That the truth was situated somewhere between the two, Redon knew better than anyone:

Imaginez des arabesques ou méandres variés, se déroulant, non sur un plan, mais dans l'espace, avec tout ce que fourniront pour l'esprit les marges profondes et indéterminées du ciel; imaginez le jeu de leurs lignes projetées et combinées avec les éléments les plus divers, y compris celui d'un visage humain; si ce visage a les particularités de celui que nous apercevons quotidiennement dans la rue, avec sa vérité fortuite immédiate toute réelle, vous aurez, là, la combinaison ordinaire de beaucoup de mes dessins.

(O. Redon: A Soi-même, p.28).

These remarks surely come nearer to explaining the mysterious effect of Redon's imagery than those like Natanson's which stress formal elements at the expense of the suggestive qualities of its subject-matter or those like Mirbeau's which seek a one-to-one relationship between image and abstract concept. Mirbeau overlooks the extent to which a painting is the outcome of a painter's struggle with his medium. Natanson dispenses too glibly with images as strange as the winged heads and cactus men which fill Redon's



O. Redon: 'Triste montée', lithograph, 1879 (n°9 of album: Dans le rêve), 26.7 X 20 cm., Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

imaginary world. In the album, Dans le rêve, executed in 1879, Redon created that atmosphere of undefined menace which is so characteristic of his work.<sup>51</sup> In compositional terms, the strong contrasts between light and shaded areas are arranged frontally so as to produce the most direct and forceful impact possible upon the observer. In 'Vision', two apparently-fleeing figures seem to be stopped in their tracks by the appearance of a huge eye in the centre of the lithograph. Their smallness is further emphasized by the massive solidity of the pillars on either side of the eye. In 'Triste montée', the same use of eyes which stare into undefined space outside of the frame, the same use of disproportionate and fantastic figures set against elements of a realistic background once again open the image onto the repressed fears of the subconscious. Mirbeau's approach leaves too much of the image unexplained. Natanson, while recognising the part played in works such as these by formal elements, overlooks the fact that the suggestive ambiguity of 'Vision', for example, exists because the large, circular form which dominates the work is not merely a large, circular form but also the representation of an eye:

Toute mon originalité consiste donc à faire vivre humainement des êtres invraisemblables selon les lois du vraisemblable, en mettant, autant que possible, la logique du visible au service de l'invisible.

(O. Redon: A Soi-même, p.29-30).

'selon les lois du vraisemblable': in Redon's own admission, his procedure was not essentially different from that of realistic painting. For the most banal historical anecdote, the most sentimental narrative, Redon substituted an imaginary realm situated

somewhere on the borders of man's conscious life. But in giving expression to this realm, Redon retained the logic of realistic painting. He explored it with his mind's eye just as the Impressionists explored nature visually. At an early point in his diary, Redon recounts how he had literally seen these strange creatures since his childhood.<sup>52</sup> Their very strangeness turns the spectator's attention away from the formal means employed to create that ambiguity which was Redon's avowed aim. The subject-matter is sufficient to set the spectator's emotional responses into action. This is what Remy de Gourmont meant when he described Redon's images as 'metaphors', a description which Redon himself accepted as the most accurate statement upon his work.<sup>53</sup> By 'metaphor', Gourmont meant that the working of the realistically-constructed image, with its capacity to evoke a family of ideas interrelated by cultural associations, was placed at the service of a different content, just as in the metaphor, a name or descriptive term is transferred to an object to which it is not strictly applicable. The associative meanings are now to be suggested rather than directly expressed for they are now related to the individual imagination's capacity to enlarge (or diminish) the emotional experience. If, at this point, we remember Mallarmé's reply to Fontainas (cf. *supra*, p. 59), Gourmont's refusal to see, in the case of Redon, pictorial Symbolism as the antithesis of Impressionism seems even more significant. Writing on the 'deux écoles... les Impressionnistes et les Symbolistes', Gourmont explained:

Ces deux arts valent par leur sincérité: pratiquement ils se joignent et se complètent, - car il faut au sym-



boliste un fond d'impressionnisme, et l'impressionniste qui ne chercherait qu'à emmener des nuances en captivité serait le plus vain des détrousseurs de paysages.

(R. de Gourmont: 'Les premiers salons', Mercur de France, Tome 5, n°29, Mai 1892, p.61).

Redon's 1894 exhibition was a turning-point in the artistic evolution of the Nabis, for here, Redon put on show for the first time his coloured work. Hitherto, his reputation had been founded entirely upon his black-and-white drawings. Six months before, in November 1893, Gauguin had revealed to the Parisian public the first fruits of his self-imposed exile in Tahiti. Between these two very different models of colour harmonies, the Nabis made a revealing choice. While still admiring Gauguin greatly as a liberating influence, their more Parisian and fin-de-siècle temperaments could no longer follow his robust directness in the use of line and flat, large expanses of rich colours. Between the exclusively literary painting of official art and Gauguin's uncompromising defence of formal values, Redon's painting seemed more than ever to be a possible compromise. By 1894, the Nabis' attacks upon the literary element in painting had become more nuanced. The term still included official art, the Impressionists and Aurier's Neo-Platonism but they were no longer prepared to take the attacks to Gauguin's lengths. Instead, they preferred Redon's subtle enrichment of familiar objects by the creation of atmospheres to which supple lines and discreet colour harmonies contributed. Only in a period of painting stifled by academic nullities and in a context of poetic, or decadent, criticism could Redon's imaginative logic have passed for formal originality. Though

Denis defined Redon as a Symbolist for having realised, through formal structures alone, plastic equivalents of his emotional life, Gourmont saw clearly enough that the basic tenets of naturalistic representation survived intact in the artist's 'metaphors'.

The symbolist painters dismissed Impressionism as a literary art because the status enjoyed there by the visual impression seemed to them to exclude from painting the artist's subjective response to nature. By and large, the poets did not make this distinction. Some felt that, in order to renew painting, it was sufficient to change its subject-matter, others, that it was necessary to change the approach to subject-matter. For the latter, the transposition into the domain of aesthetic feeling of Impressionism's innovations in perceptual psychology seemed to offer a potentially-rich source of poetic metaphor, so that, despite the emphasis which the symbolist painters placed upon the emotional impact of lines and colours, they tended to locate the function of painting in the associative virtues of the pictorial subject, whether symbolist or impressionist. Aurier's first article on Gauguin suggests, in its opening poetic analysis of 'Vision après le sermon', a genuine awareness of Gauguin's intentions. This was, in turn, vitiated by his defence of an idealist philosophy which created the impression that the role of the pictorial subject was to express a one-to-one relationship to a transcendental idea and which, in doing so, consolidated the position of the first group of writers, who felt that painting should show metaphysical subjects.<sup>54</sup> We shall see later that the importance

for our subject, of Mallarmé and Kahn lies in their having gone in their poetry, as Gourmont did in his criticism, further than the majority of their literary contemporaries in their experience of Impressionism by assimilating its formal premisses too. Yet, however varied the awareness, among the poets, of problems of pictorial form, they all, in theory at least, rejected salon painting, for they found there only a naturalistic copy of external reality, which, in their view, might be valuable as journalism or photography but not as art. They would all have agreed, as a programme for painting, with the simple but helpfully-vague line of Maeterlinck: 'Je vois des songes dans mes yeux'<sup>55</sup> - a fine summary of their sense of the essential interiority of the pictorial subject. On another occasion, the same poet had the following advice to give his contemporaries among the painters:

Un bon peintre ne peindra plus Marius vainqueur des Cimbres ou l'assassinat du duc de Guise, parce que la psychologie de la victoire ou du meurtre est élémentaire et exceptionnelle et que le vacarme inutile d'un art violent étouffe la voix plus profonde, mais hésitante et discrète, des êtres et des choses. Il représentera une maison perdue dans la campagne, une porte ouverte au bout d'un corridor, un visage ou des mains au repos et ces simples images pourront ajouter quelque chose à notre conscience de la vie.

(M. Maeterlinck: 'A propos du Solness le constructeur', Le Figaro. 3e pér., n°92, 2 avril 1894, p.1).

The reader has no doubt recognized the victory of Marius and the assassination of the Duke of Guise as types of historical subject-matter much favoured by the academic painters. Maeterlinck rejects them in favour of those subjects which figure prominently in the intimist painting of Vuillard, Bonnard and others of the Nabi group, though the poet probably also has Whistler's portrait of

his mother in mind. Like many of his literary contemporaries, Maeterlinck is here elaborating upon what is essentially a traditional distinction between the interest of a work of art and that of its subject,<sup>56</sup> a distinction based upon consideration of the work as revelatory of some aspect of the subject, be it its essence, its ideal, its most important characteristic, or, as in the case of the symbolist poets, that part of its meaning which was hidden from view. They found little difficulty in admitting that Maeterlinck's programme might be just as effectively accomplished by Monet, say, as by Gauguin. So, Mirbeau wrote of the Impressionist that 'les grands drames de la nature, il les saisit, les rend, en leur expression la plus suggestive'.<sup>57</sup> Another critic, an avid reader of A Rebours by the sound of it, wrote that the same painter had the ambition 'que sa peinture parlât non seulement aux yeux, mais aussi aux nerfs et à l'imagination des plus délicats'.<sup>58</sup> Emile Michélet remarked that, of the sea, Corot had given 'la suggestion de paix', Whistler, 'l'attirance perfide' and Monet 'la féerie décorative'.<sup>59</sup>

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Aurier's opposition between Impressionism and pictorial Symbolism and the hostility with which it was received among the Nabis created some confusion in literary circles as to the status of the subject in painting. Natanson asked himself 'ce que nous pouvons entendre par ce mot de "sujet" qui revient si fréquemment dans les conversations qui ont trait aux tableaux'<sup>60</sup> and came up with the following definition, which illustrates the literary compromise

between Impressionism and Symbolism which we have seen in this chapter:

...le sujet n'est plus que la composition des sensations visuelles du peintre - éprouvées ou évoquées - telle que son goût pictural personnel la lui a imposée.  
(ibid., p.341).

The role of the pictorial subject was to reveal, through the visual and intellectual associations which it set in motion, some hidden unity within experience. The reluctance, on the part of the symbolist poets, to see pictorial Symbolism as part of a 'post-impressionist reaction' appears, in retrospect, to have been a sound one. Nevertheless, the danger in their approach to painting is not hard to see. It is a failure to understand the role of the decorative element in painting, a failure which would have serious consequences for Gauguin in particular. As late as 1927, Mauclair, who took over the art criticism of the Mer-cure de France following Aurier's death, wrote, in connection with a minor symbolist painter, Lucien Lévy-Dhurmer:

Il me semble bien qu' à force d'exclure la 'peinture d'idées en la confondant avec la 'peinture littéraire' qui est du mauvais académisme, l'art risque de devenir terriblement vide et bête.

(C. Mauclair: 'Sur la peinture dite littéraire', L'Eventail [Brussels], Tome 40, n°7, 18 décembre 1927, p.5).

Mauclair's equation of literary painting and 'mauvais académisme' brings us back to our tautology. It was, therefore, logical for Mauclair to attack Gauguin's painting for lacking ideas:

Ce sujet emprunté à la vie ou la nature et ne représentant rien de réel laisse rêveur. Ce que M. Gauguin définit là existait il y a quelque trois mille ans; c'est le tapis. Et en effet les tableaux de M. Gauguin feraient d'assez

jolis tapis, criards mais amusants...

(C. Maclair: 'Choses d'art', Mercure de France, Tome 14, n°66, Juin 1895, p.359).

Maclair thus considered Gauguin's art to be empty intellectually because 'simply decorative'. That such decorative qualities might be inseparably related to a profound intellectual content was not something which Maclair was prepared to accept even in 1927, so there was little chance of him doing so in 1895. Its logical conclusion was to prefer Lévy-Dhurmer to Gauguin, which many symbolist poets did in the 1890's. The misunderstanding between poet and painter is underlined by Denis, who wrote, of Gauguin, that 'pour retrouver dans une oeuvre d'art, aussi réelle que chez Gauguin, la présence du soleil, il faut remonter jusqu'à l'art du vitrail gothique, jusqu'aux tapis d'Orient'<sup>61</sup> and, of Cézanne, that 'il assemble des couleurs et des formes en dehors de toute préoccupation littéraire: son effort est plus voisin de celui d'un tapissier persan que de celui d'un Delacroix...'.<sup>62</sup> Maclair intended the reference to the Persian carpet as an insult, Denis as praise, Maclair, because the key to meaning remained with the subject so that a lack of sympathy with the subject meant a bad painting, Denis, because meaning was inseparable from formal structures. A few months later, the same Maclair criticised Denis, Vuillard and Bonnard for having committed 'l'erreur de mêler les principes de la décoration à ceux du tableau, qui en sont totalement différents'<sup>63</sup> - proof, once again, that an essential element of synthetist art theory had escaped him. He cannot be entirely excused for this for there were poets and critics who could have corrected him, had he been prepared to listen.

During a visit to Gauguin's Tahiti exhibition in November 1893, Mallarmé is said to have exclaimed: 'Il est extraordinaire qu'on puisse mettre tant de mystère dans tant d'éclat'.<sup>64</sup> Nearly twenty years before, the same poet had discovered the work of Manet and reacted with the same surprise and for much the same reasons. Kahn found, in the work of Seurat, that 'un hiératisme simple anime les modèles et leur donne de la simplicité et de la majesté de l'art antique',<sup>65</sup> while Fénéon saw enough, in Gauguin's Volpni exhibition of 1889, to sense the implications of this new pictorial style:

La réalité ne lui fut qu'un prétexte à créations lointaines: il réordonne les matériaux qu'elle lui fournit, dédaigne le trompe-l'oeil, fût-ce le trompe l'oeil de l'atmosphère, accuse les lignes, restreint leur nombre, les hiératise; et dans chacun des spacieux cantons que forment leurs entrelacs, une couleur opulente et lourde s'enorgueillit morne sans attenter aux couleurs voisines, sans se muer elle-même...

(F. Fénéon: 'Autre groupe impressionniste', La Cravache, n°437, 6 juillet 1889).

Fénéon's criticism does not dismiss references to the meanings derived from the subject. In this sense, it could not be called formalist. Yet his realization that Gauguin's symbolism depended as much upon decorative abstraction is an important departure from the type of criticism which found its model in Aurier's spiritual prolongations of Gauguin's subjects. While Aurier described the painter's images as revelations of neo-Platonic archetypes, Fénéon chose to discreetly direct the spectator's attention to the emotional impact of line and colour in which he considered Gauguin's originality to lie. Fénéon's review was written in 1889, Aurier's

in 1891; between the two, Gauguin had, as far as Fénéon was concerned, fallen foul of poets. The remark is only partly true.

Differences in attitudes, between the painter and the poets, to the Impressionists reveal different ideas as to what constituted literary painting. These, in turn, reveal different appreciations of the nature of painting, of the way in which painting derives and communicates its meanings. Fénéon was soon joined by other art critics who shared his understanding of the link which Gauguin provided between the symbolist and the abstract traditions.<sup>66</sup> That, among the poets, only Mallarmé, Kahn, Morice and, in particular, the Jarry of Les Minutes de sable mémorial, did so needs to be explained now. In order to do so, we must examine the status of pictorial 'language' in the art criticism of the literary Symbolists.



Notes to Chapter Two.

1. P. Gauguin: 'Racontars...', p.76.
  2. See, in this respect, J.P. Crespelle: Les Maîtres de la belle époque, Paris, Hachette, 1966 and A. Celebonovic: Peinture kitsch ou réalisme bourgeois, Paris, Seghers, 1974.
  3. E Tardieu: 'La peinture et les peintres', L'Echo de Paris, 12<sup>e</sup> année, n°4003, 13 mai 1895, p.2.
  4. Both artists certainly found in Baudelaire's criticism an anticipation of the problem. The poet praised Hugo, for example, for having, in Légende des siècles, transcended the narrative interest of historical subject-matter (Ch.Baudelaire: 'Victor Hugo', in: Oeuvres complètes, p.712). J.C. Taylor, however, in: 'Two Visual Excursions II. Literary Values in the Visual Arts' ( Critical Inquiry, Vol.1, n°1, September 1974), manages to see Baudelaire's remarks as an attack upon Hugo (pp.98-9). In Baudelaire's art criticism, Gauguin no doubt admired the pictorial values present in the poet's praise of Delacroix.
  5. In confirming this criticism of the Impressionists, Denis invoked Gauguin:
 

L'art n'est plus une sensation seulement visuelle que nous recueillons, une photographie, si raffinée soit-elle, de la nature. Non, c'est une création de notre esprit dont la nature n'est que l'occasion. Au lieu de 'travailler autour de l'oeil, nous cherchions au centre mystérieux de la pensée', comme disait Gauguin.

(M. Denis: 'De Gauguin et de van Gogh au classicisme', L'Occident. Tome 15, n°90, Mai 1909, pp.192-3).
- Redon levelled the same charge some eight years before Gauguin, for, on 10 April 1880, he wrote:

...je ne crois pas que la pensée prise pour ce qu'elle est en elle-même, ait à gagner beaucoup dans ce parti-pris de ne considérer que ce qui se passe au dehors de nos demeures. [Redon's italics].

(O. Redon: A Soi-même, Paris, Floury, 1922, pp.155-6).

6. C. Maclair: Mallarmé chez lui, Paris, Grasset, 1935, p.73.

7. J. Moréas: 'Peintures', Le Symboliste, 1ère année, n°3, 22-29 octobre 1886.

8. See W. Fowlie: 'Mallarmé and the Painters of his Age', The Southern Review, Vol.2, n°3, Summer 1966, p.545.

9. For the importance, for Impressionism, of the advances made by Helmholtz and Brücke in the field of perceptual psychology, see M. Podro: 'The Painters' Analogies and their Theories, 1845-80', in: U. Finke (ed.): French 19th Century Painting..., pp.99-115.

10. cf: 'Très attentif à la littérature de cette époque, j'avais rêvé une peinture qui répondît aux poésies de Jean Moréas et de Mallarmé' (E. Bernard: 'Notes inédites d'Emile Bernard sur le symbolisme', in: Emile Bernard, 1868-1941, peintures, dessins, gravures, Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 12 avril - 12 juin 1967, pp.7-8). Bernard is certainly telling the truth here, though he has his reasons for doing so. He was so upset by Aurier's nomination of Gauguin as leader of pictorial Symbolism that all of his writings upon the period were designed to advance his own claims to the title.

11. Bernard's close friend, Jacques Anquetin, was the originator of this style, so-called because the technique of preparing a simplified drawing in closed lines and then filling in areas with flat, modulated colours resembled cloisonné enamels and stained-glass windows. See, in this respect, W. Jaworska: Gauguin et l'école..., p.14 and J. Milner: Symbolists..., p.58. In March 1888, in the offices of La Revue indépendante, Anquetin showed the first works executed

in his new style, 'Le Faucheur' and 'L'Avenue de Clichy, le soir'.

12. See J. Rewald: Post-Impressionism from Gauguin to van Gogh, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1956. and the preface written by D. Sutton for the catalogue of the exhibition, Gauguin and the Pont-Aven Group, held in the Tate Gallery, London, January-February 1966. Interesting articles on the same subject include those of Ch. Chassé: 'De quand date le synthétisme de Gauguin?', L'Amour de l'art, Tome XIX, n°3, Avril 1938, pp.127-34 and M. Bodelsen: 'The Missing Link in Gauguin's Cloisonism', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome LIII, Mai-Juin 1959, pp.329-44.

13. G. Wildenstein, in: 'L'idéologie et l'esthétique dans deux tableaux-clés de Gauguin, (Gauguin, sa vie, son oeuvre: documents inédits, Gazette des beaux-arts, (n° spécial) Tome LI, Janvier-Avril 1958) complained (p.127) that twentieth-century historians had concentrated exclusively upon formal elements in Gauguin's work at the expense of his philosophy:

La critique contemporaine n'a peut-être pas examiné assez son oeuvre sous cet angle, et elle a trop voulu n'y trouver que la solution de problèmes plastiques, soit par la séduction d'un exotisme coloré, soit par le retour à un primitivisme somptueux. Certainement une partie de cette oeuvre reste méconnue lorsqu'on refuse de s'attacher à son contenu idéologique.

This warning went largely unheeded until W. Andersen's biography, Gauguin's Paradise... F. Cachin, for example, in: Gauguin, invariably presents the painter's philosophy as a literary element which detracts from his stature as a painter, as though this were automatic. One exception to the general trend of Gauguin studies is D.H. Fraser: Gauguin's 'Vision after the Sermon - Jacob Struggling with the Angel', London, Cassell, 1969. My own analysis of the painting in question is more detailed than, and differs from, that of Fraser.

14. In a letter to Schuffenecker of 14 August 1888, Gauguin wrote:

L'art est une abstraction tirez-la de la nature en rêvant devant et pensez plus à la création qui résultera, c'est le seul moyen de monter vers Dieu en faisant comme notre Divin Maître, créer... Allons bon courage, que Dieu vous prenne en sa sainte garde en couronnant vos efforts.

(P. Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., pp.134-5).

The religious tone clearly took Schuffenecker by surprise. He must have commented upon it, for, in a letter of 16 October, Gauguin, typically, scoffed at his own previous attitude:

Que me parlez-vous de mon mysticisme terrible. Soyez impressionniste jusqu'au bout et ne vous effrayez de rien!

(ibid., p.147).

[Gauguin's italics]

Yet, ironically, in doing so, Gauguin resorted to Biblical imagery, for the letter continued: 'Evidemment cette voie...est pleine d'écueils...' (ibid.).

15. Ch. Baudelaire: 'Peintures murales d'Eugène Delacroix à Saint-Sulpice' in: Oeuvres complètes, pp.1108-10).

16. and not, as Fraser suggests (op.cit p.23) that of the praying woman in the left foreground of the painting, for this figure's eyes are closed and the painting is entitled, 'Vision...'; she is praying but the vision comes 'après le sermon', after prayer.

17. For the Biblical account of Jacob's struggle with the Angel, see Genesis, chapter XXXII, verses 24-31.

18. M. Schapiro: Words and Pictures. On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text, The Hague, Mouton, 1973, p.38.

19. In a letter to Octave Maus, Gauguin enclosed the list of twelve paintings which he intended to exhibit, together with the prices he hoped to receive for them. For the 'Vision...' and 'En pleine chaleur' he asked 1,000 francs. Needless to say, his hopes far exceeded reality. The letter is preserved in the Archives Octave Maus (Fonds XX, Inv. 5225) in the Museum of Modern Art, Brussels. [I am most grateful to

Mme. F.C. Legrand, Curator of the museum, for allowing me to consult this document<sup>7</sup>.

20. To understand more fully Gauguin's need for Aurier, it is necessary to return to the circumstances surrounding the Volponi exhibition. The painters called themselves the 'Groupe impressioniste et synthétiste' - a title which merely provoked confusion as to who was one and who, the other and what the two terms meant anyway. The matter might have been clearer had Gauguin exhibited the 'Vision...' and here we have a problem. The painting was shown at the 'Exposition des XX' in Brussels, in February-March 1889. That it returned to Paris in the third week of March is confirmed by the following letter, signed T. van Gogh, addressed to Maus and written on paper headed Boussod Valadon et Cie., 19 bd. Montmartre. It is dated 22 March 1889:

Cher Monsieur, j'ai l'avantage de vous accuser réception de votre lettre du 19 et contenant la somme de frs 400 en paiement du tableau de Gauguin vendu à l'exposition des XX. Les tableaux adressés à M. Petit sont arrivés en bon ordre.

(Archives Octave Maus, Fonds XX, Inv. 5226).

I should like to thank M. M. Hoog, Curator of the Orangerie Museum, Paris and Mme Legrand for their kind help in enabling me to locate and consult this document. The painting sold in Brussels was 'Berger et bergère', bought by Anna Boch and now in the Museum of Modern Art in Brussels. Since Gauguin's 'Vision...' was, therefore, in Paris from late March 1889 and since the painter attached great importance to it in the development of his pictorial style, the painting's absence from the Volponi exhibition is mysterious. Since no art historian has explained the reason for it, I should like to suggest that it is to be found in the critical reception reserved for the work in the Brussels exhibition. In a review of it, Maus wrote:

De tous les exposants, celui qui a le privilège d'exciter au plus haut degré le ricanement de la foule, c'est M. PAUL GAUGUIN sic. C'est devant la douzaine de toiles qu'il aligne...l'incessant bourdonnement de la bêtise humaine montant, parfois, jusqu'aux éclats de rire. De ce qu'un paysage montre des troncs d'arbre bleus et un ciel jaune,

on conclut que M. Gauguin ne possède pas les plus élémentaires notions du coloris, et l'on infère d'une 'Vision du Sermon' (sic) symbolisée par le combat de Jacob et de l'Ange luttant sur un pré vermillon que l'artiste a voulu se moquer outreusement des visiteurs.

(O. Maus: 'Le salon des XX à Bruxelles (VI<sup>e</sup> exposition annuelle), La Cravache, n°419, 2 mars 1889).

My suggestion is, therefore, that Gauguin, realizing that he could not afford a second failure of these proportions, preferred to withdraw the painting responsible for it. The Brussels exhibition can only have convinced him that the public was not yet ready for his work and that a publicity campaign was required. Throughout 1890, he urged Bernard to persuade Aurier to get a move on with his article. In a letter to the younger painter, dated June 1890, Gauguin complained:

A 2 lettres Aurier ne m'a pas répondu telle une merde de chien le long d'un mur. /Gauguin's italics/.

(P. Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.194).

The following month, Gauguin wrote to Bernard: 'Merci à Aurier pour sa bonne volonté' (ibid., p.198). Gauguin was certainly being ironical but between the two letters, Bernard had obviously contacted Aurier. Indeed, the letter by which he did so may well be that published, undated, in the appendix of Lettres...à sa femme... and in which Bernard wrote:

Je vous donnerai toutes les notes possibles, lettres, etc., vous savez d'ailleurs où voir ses toiles et connaissez ses idées par ses articles au Moderniste...

(ibid., p.330).

21. The complete list of these paintings is contained in J. Rewald: 'Theo van Gogh, Goupil and the Impressionists' (Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Tome LXXXI, Janvier-Février 1973, pp.1-108), a remarkable account of the financial transactions of the Parisian art-dealers in the late 1880's and early 90's.

22. Similarly, Kahn praised the critic, Roger Marx, for helping painters 'en leur permettant de comparer leur art plastique aux

arts littéraires...' (G. Kahn: 'Roger Marx', Mercure de France, Tome 28, n°106, Octobre 1898, p.45).

23. M. Denis: 'Définition du néo-traditionnisme' in Théories (1890-1910), Paris, Floury, 1912, p.12. [Unfortunately, I have been unable to consult the original version of the article, published in the review, Art et critique of 23 and 30 August 1890, since the Bibliothèque Nationale has lost all trace of its copy of the review for that year<sup>7</sup>.

24. G.-A. Aurier: 'Le symbolisme...', p.156.

25. Consider the following examples from Le Spleen de Paris:

a) Le monde stupéfié s'affaisse lâchement et fait la sieste, une sieste qui est une espèce de mort savoureuse...

(C. Baudelaire: 'La Belle Dorothée' in: Oeuvres complètes, p.266).

b) ...de ceux-là qui aiment la mer, la mer immense et verte.. ('Les Bienfaits de la lune', *ibid.*, p.290).

c) ...je plongeais dans vos yeux si beau et si bizarrement doux, dans vos yeux verts...

('Les Yeux des pauvres', *ibid.*, p.269).

26. O. Revault d'Allones, in the introduction to his edition of Denis' Théories (Paris, Hermann, 1964), says that Denis' affirmation was 'profondément comprise' (p.13) but does not say by whom. Only by a minority of the symbolist poets, in any case.

27. In June 1892, Denis had already attempted to set the record straight:

Nous nous étonnons que des critiques renseignés...se soient plus à confondre les tendances mystiques et allégoriques, c'est-à-dire, la recherche de l'expression par le sujet, et les tendances symbolistes, c'est-à-dire la recherche de l'expression par l'oeuvre d'art...Nous avons écrit jadis que la peinture de M. Raffaelli était un peu bien littéraire; ce qui voulait dire qu'elle emprunte au sujet beaucoup de son expression.

(P.L. Maud [pseud. for M. Denis]: 'Notes d'art et d'esthétique, La Revue blanche, Tome 2, n°6, Juin 1892, pp.364-5).

28. G.-A. Aurier: 'Le symbolisme...', p.156.

29. M. Denis: 'L'influence de Paul Gauguin', L'Occident, Tome 4, n°23, Octobre 1903, p.161..

30. M. Denis: 'L'époque du symbolisme', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Tome XI, Mars 1934, p.178.

31. M. Denis: 'De Gauguin et de van Gogh...', p.192.

32. In the first, dated 14 August, the painter wrote:

Mes derniers travaux sont en bonne marche et je crois que vous trouverez une note particulière ou plutôt l'affirmation de mes recherches antérieures ou synthèse d'une forme et d'une couleur en ne considérant la dominante.

(P. Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.135).

I have already referred to the second in another context (cf. *supra*, p. 62).

33. H.R. Rookmaaker, in his book, Gauguin and 19th Century Art Theory, refers to Aurier's definition of 'synthétique' in the following way:

It is as if Aurier suddenly realizes that he has not yet used this term which was so often employed by Gauguin and his fellow-artists in particular, and therefore Aurier just jots it down here. His short digression probably means that this art speaks clearly and is not esoterically strange and only intelligible to the initiated.

(p.159).

I do not think for one moment that Aurier 'just jots' the term down. I think it more likely that he spent some time trying to incorporate it without doing violence either to his Neo-Platonism or to the stylistic premisses of the new painting as he understood them from Bernard. Rookmaaker's explanation of what he calls a 'digression' is surely the opposite of what a symbolist critic would expect from art. Aurier's writings continually stress the esoteric nature of art. Despite the fact that Aurier 'just jots down' this 'short



digression', Rookmaaker nevertheless includes the critic's remarks among the 'definitive formulations' of pictorial Synthetism! This view appears to me unacceptable. I consider Aurier to have profoundly understood Gauguin's mystical intentions but I can see little basis for formal criticism in his writings. I shall return to this problem in the following chapter when I shall examine his position in literary symbolist attitudes to pictorial form.

34. Aurier himself died of typhoid in Marseilles on 5 October 1892. He was aged only 27.

35. J. Péladan: Salon de la Rose+Croix. Règles et monitoires, Paris, Dentu, 1891, p.8. Gourmont, in his review of Péladan's rules, spoke of 'singerie hiératique', 'puffisme' and 'fumisteries' (R. G(ourmont): 'Les livres', Mercure de France, Tome 4, n°25, Janvier 1892, p.89).

36. Le Comte de Larmandie: L'Entr'acte idéale. Histoire de la Rose+Croix, Paris, Chacornac, 1903, p.162.

37. G.-A. Aurier: 'Eugène Carrière', Mercure de France, Tome 2, n° 18, Juin 1891, p.333.

38. G.-A. Aurier: 'Préface pour un livre de critique d'art', Mercure de France, Tome 6, n°36, Décembre 1892, p.320.

39. J.-K. Huysmans: A Rebours, pp.238-9.

40. M. Denis: 'L'époque du symbolisme', p.174. A fuller context makes Denis' meaning clear:

Il nous recevait dans son appartement de l'avenue de Wagram, avec la même dignité que Mallarmé dans la rue de Rome. C'était très exactement le Mallarmé de la peinture. Ses affirmations nous semblaient sortir du puits de l'abîme. Son imagination apocalyptique se dissimulait sous le masque affable d'un parfait homme du monde.

The comparison is, therefore, between the impact, upon the young

artists, of two similar personalities. No comparison between their respective arts is intended.

41. G. Kahn: 'L'exposition des 33', La Revue indépendante, Tome 6, n°15, Janvier 1888, p.151.

42. Emile Bernard wrote that, to Redon, 'M. Huysmans...consacra des pages célèbres' (E. Bernard: 'Odilon Redon', L'Occident, Tome 5, n° 30, Mai 1904, p.234). Bernard sent Redon a copy of his article, in the margin of which, alongside the above-quoted lines, the older painter wrote:

Huysmans ne me comprit qu'incomplètement. Je crois avoir aidé à son évolution, mais je suis resté sur le sol. Et mes ouvrages sont vrais quoi qu'on en dise.

Redon's copy of Bernard's article was first published by R. Bacou, in the first volume of her book, Odilon Redon (pp.275-84). At the time of Huysmans' 'Note sur l'exposition du Gaulois', Redon had spent over a decade working in isolation in Bordeaux. Thus, he was able to write, in a letter of 25 August 1882:

Je suis singulièrement content et fier du chapitre que me consacre Huysmans.

(O. Redon: Lettres de Gauguin, Gide, Huysmans, Jammes, Mallarmé, Verhaeren...à Odilon Redon (présentées par A. Redon), Paris, José Corti, 1960, p.98).

This need for moral support, the satisfaction of seeing one's work appreciated by young painters and writers, even to the extent of accepting publicly debatable interpretations of one's art, is a source of confusion during this period which one cannot afford to overlook. This has already been seen with regard to Gauguin and Aurier.

43. Of his adolescence, Redon wrote:

J'ai eu constamment dans la main un beau livre.

(O. Redon: A Soi-même, p.25).

His illustrations and frontispieces for texts by Poe, Picard, Verhaeren, Flaubert, Baudelaire and Huysmans, among others played an

important part in Redon's reputation among the literary symbolists.

44. O. Mirbeau: 'L'art et la nature', Le Gaulois, 20e année, 3e sér., n°1338, 26 avril 1886. To be fair to Mirbeau, he was only repeating the better-known explanations given by contemporary critics. His own position was more supple:

Le propre de l'idéal est de n'évoquer jamais que des formes vagues qui peuvent être aussi bien des lacs magiques que des éléphants sacrés, des fleurs extraterrestres aussi bien que des épingles de cravate, à moins qu'elles ne soient rien du tout.

45. O. Redon: A Soi-même, p.77.

46. A very interesting discussion of this question is contained in the article by J. Seznec: 'Odilon Redon and Literature' (in: Finke (ed.) French 19th Century Painting..., pp.280-98). The author shows very well the way in which Redon's strange subjects gave free rein to many a writer's taste for literary virtuosity.

47. J. Lorrain: 'Un étrange jongleur', L'Echo de Paris, 11e année n°3606, 10 avril 1894.

48. In her book on Redon, (op.cit. Tome 1, p.262), R. Bacou quotes M. Fabre's preface to a Catalogue d'une collection particulière du Languedoc, a sale of works by Redon, Gauguin and van Gogh which took place on 10 March 1902:

Odilon Redon n'est pas un littérateur égaré dans la peinture, il est un artiste plastique, plus soucieux des ressources matérielles de son art que bien d'autres qui n'ont pas son originalité.

Bacou considers this a 'texte très significatif, en effet, d'un état d'esprit nouveau' (ibid.). I think that Natanson's remarks show that this critical trend had begun some eight years before. I find it strange that in her review of the critical reaction to Redon's work (Tome I, chap. XVII: 'La génération du symbolisme, 1890-1900'), no mention is made of Natanson's article.

49. Denis returned to Cézanne's formula on another occasion:

Admirable formule qui résumait en le contraste de ces deux mots: reproduire et représenter, notre doctrine du symbolisme pictural, non littéraire - le symbolisme des équivalents - opposé au vain effort de copie directe des photographes de l'Ecole des beaux-arts, et des naturalistes de l'école du 'tempérament'. [Denis' italics].

(M. Denis: 'Chronique de peinture', L'Ermitage, 17e année, Tome 2, n°12, 15 décembre 1906, p.326).

By the 'école du "tempérament"', Denis was referring to the Impressionists, so called because of Zola's definition of art as 'un coin de la création vu à travers un tempérament'. See E. Zola: Mon salon, Paris, Librairie Centrale, 1866, p.56. Once again, we find Denis throwing academic and impressionist art into the same sack.

50. A typical example would be the following praise of Puvis:

Analysons: l'hémicycle de Chavannes à la Sorbonne, qui nécessite pour le vulgaire une explication écrite, est-il littéraire? Certes non, car cette explication est fautive: les examinateurs de baccalauréat peuvent savoir que telle belle forme d'éphèbe qui s'alanguit vers un semblant d'eau, symbolise la jeunesse studieuse. C'est une belle forme, esthètes! n'est-ce pas? Et la profondeur de notre émotion vient de la suffisance de ces lignes et de ces couleurs à s'expliquer elles-mêmes, comme seulement belles et divines de beauté.

(M. Denis: 'Définition...', p.9).

In order to criticise poets who were guilty, in his view, of an offhand approach to pictorial form, Denis has here gone too far in the opposite direction by dismissing the meanings associated with Puvis' classical subjects.

51. Such images evoked in des Esseintes, however, 'des souvenirs de fièvre typhoïde...' (J.-K. Huysmans: A Rebours, p.86).

52. cf: 'Mon père me disait souvent: "Vois ces nuages, y discernes-tu, comme moi, des formes changeantes?" Et il me montrait alors, dans le ciel muable, des apparitions d'êtres bizarres, chimériques et merveilleux' (ibid., p.11).

53. R.de Gourmont: Le Probleme du style. Questions d'art, de littérature et de grammaire, Paris, Mercure de France, 1902, pp.89-90.  
Of Gourmont's description, Redon wrote:

Ils sont une sorte de métaphore, a dit Rémy de Gourmont, en les situant à part, loin de tout art géométrique. Il y voit une logique imaginative. Je crois que cet écrivain a dit en quelques lignes plus que tout ce qui fut écrit autrefois sur mes premiers travaux. Redon's italics.  
(O. Redon: A Soi-même, p.28).

54. This vitiation of critical insights through a certain 'esprit de système' which we find in Aurier is not an unusual phenomenon during these years. The most famous example is, of course, René Ghil, whose poetry, as A.G. Lehmann rightly points out (The Symbolist Aesthetic..., p.209) is not as bad as his theories might lead one to fear.

55. See the poem 'Ame de serre' in Maeterlinck's Serres chaudes, nouv.éd., Bruxelles, P. Lacomblez, 1890, p.87..

56. M. Podro ('The Painters' Analogies...', p.100) shows this distinction at work in Diderot.

57. O. Mirbeau: 'Claude Monet', Le Figaro, 35e année, 2e sér., n°69 10 mars 1889.

58. G.J: 'Notes sur l'art. Claude Monet', La Cravache, n°383, 23 juin 1888.

59. E. Michelet: 'L'exposition de Maxime Maufra', Essais d'art libre, Tome IV, Janvier 1894, p.285).

60. T. Natanson: 'Un groupe de peintres', La Revue blanche, Tome 5, n°25, Novembre 1893, pp.339-40).

61. M. Denis: 'Chronique de peinture', p.325.
62. M. Denis: 'Cézanne', p.124.
63. C. Mauclair: 'Choses d'art', Mercure de France, Tome 17, n°75, Mars 1896, p.418.
64. P. Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.288. Doubt as to what Mallarmé actually did say was raised in 1923 by P. N. Roinard, who gave a rather different version of the poet's remark: 'Je n'ai jamais vu tant de mystère dans tant de joie'. See L.J. Austin: 'Mallarmé critique d'art' in: F. Haskell, A. Levi, R. Shackleton (eds.): The Artist and the Writer in France. Essays in Honour of Jean Seznec, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974, p.155. That Gauguin's terms were the correct ones is confirmed by the following:
- A l'exposition des oeuvres que Gauguin, de retour de Tahiti, avait l'an dernier, réunis chez Durand-Ruel, devant ces toiles si magnifiquement décoratives, d'expression si lumineuse et de si inquiétante signification, Stéphane Mallarmé disait: 'Il est extraordinaire de mettre tant de mystère dans tant d'éclat'.
- Voilà formulée pour toujours, l'exacte synthèse de l'art de Gauguin.
- (C. Morice: 'Les passants: Paul Gauguin', Le Soir, 27<sup>e</sup> année, n°9225, 23 novembre 1894).
65. G. Kahn: 'Exposition des indépendants', La Revue indépendante Tome 7, n°18, Avril 1888, p.161.
66. R. Marx: 'Paul Gauguin', Le Voltaire, 14<sup>e</sup> année, n°4612, 20 février 1891; P.-M. Olim: 'Les XX', Mercure de France, Tome 2, n°16, Avril 1891, pp.236-7; J. Leclercq: 'Sur la peinture (de Bruxelles à Paris)', Mercure de France, Tome 11, n°53, Mai 1894, pp.74-5.

Chapter Three. Signs of the Times. The Status of Pictorial  
Language in Symbolist Art Criticism.<sup>+</sup>

La bonne manière de savoir si un  
tableau est mélodieux est de le regarder  
d'assez loin pour n'en comprendre ni le  
sujet ni les lignes. S'il est mélodieux,  
il a déjà un sens...

(Ch. Baudelaire: 'Le salon de 1846' in:  
Oeuvres complètes, p.883).

Critical language, however transparent it may appear, always contains an ideological attitude to the aim and purpose of art. The previous chapter will, I think, have confirmed this. There, we saw how certain confusions between painters and poet/critics arose from differing interpretations of a single category of pictorial criticism. Narrow though this category may sound, it would be a mistake to underestimate its scope for the arguments which turned upon literary painting soon served to lay down the conditions for pictorial expression itself. This chapter will be concerned with the nature of this expressive element and, in particular, with the problem, in the art criticism of the period, of the status of 'pictorial language'.

Immediately, two opposing theories make their presence felt: the first, that words are able to express everything, even that in painting, the second, that they are not able to express everything, for instance, that in painting. Both have a long history in the philosophy of art, yet it is true to say that they take on a new urgency during the last fifteen years

<sup>+</sup>Footnotes to this chapter begin on p.164.

of the nineteenth century in France. For the symbolist poet whose philosophy of art was, broadly speaking, idealist, painting's value depended upon the extent to which the objects depicted upon the coloured surface referred to a transcendental reality. He made his intentions clear by proclaiming that all objects were signs of this reality and that painting's task was to arrange these signs harmoniously. The symbolist painters, however, were not ready to accept quietly the assimilation of painting's formal means within the theory of language which the idealist position made straightforward. On the contrary, Gauguin, Redon and, to a lesser extent, the Nabis, came increasingly to feel that what was essential to their art was precisely the way in which it constituted a defiance to language. The purpose of this chapter will be to examine the reasons for which the literary symbolists sought to establish the primacy of the verbal model for all artistic activity, the ways in which the painters tried to ward off this analogy of pictorial and verbal communication and the common ground which both groups appeared to find in music.

In the opening sentence of his mystical primer of the symbolist movement, Edouard Schuré explained the reasons for fin-de-siècle pessimism:

Le plus grand mal de notre temps est que la Science et la Religion y apparaissent comme deux forces ennemies et irréductibles.

(E. Schuré: Les Grands initiés, Paris, Perrin, 1889, p.vii).

Support for this diagnosis was not slow in coming. Two of literary Symbolism's brightest young hopes, Charles Morice and Paul Adam, both confidently announced that reconciliation was but a volume of



verse away. Thus, 'l'art touchera du pied la Science pour prendre en elle l'assurance d'un fondement solide et d'un élan la franchira sur les Ailes de l'Intuition', wrote Morice,<sup>1</sup> while Adam sounded equally optimistic:

L'Epoque à venir sera mystique. Et le plus étonnant du miracle c'est que la science elle-même, cette fameuse science positive et matérialiste qui renia l'orthodoxie, cette science elle-même viendra humblement annoncer la découverte du principe divin...Intuitive déjà, elle se lève lumineuse et repentante, appelant l'expérimentation pour constater la splendeur de ses théories...

(P. Adam: 'L'art symboliste', La Cravache, n°422, 23 mars 1889).<sup>2</sup>

As far as the psychology of pictorial representation was concerned, science had made notable progress during the final third of the nineteenth century. In the previous chapter (cf. *supra*, note 9, p.100), I referred briefly to the work of Brücke and Helmholtz, while the extensive studies of Chevreuil and Rood on the quantitative analysis of colour contrasts played an important part in the theoretical basis of Neo-Impressionism.<sup>3</sup> Others included the widely-read works of Charles Blanc, who sought to establish absolute laws of expression through line and colour, and of Charles Henry, who was engaged in a wide-ranging inquiry into a new 'aesthetic physiology', whose subject was the nature of representations liable to provoke pleasurable or painful sensations.<sup>4</sup> Yet if the importance of these theories for Impressionism and Neo-Impressionism is well-known, it is not normally realized that they also provide the literary Symbolists with the basis of their theories of painting as language. The chapter will be concerned with the ways in which they attempted to integrate physio-psychological

accounts of art's emotional impact within a mystical theory of art and, in doing so, to resolve the antagonism between science and religion which Schuré had diagnosed.

Schuré's own solution to cultural pessimism was a return to a comparative esotericism, from which to deduce an eternal philosophy which would reunite the two principles which the nineteenth century had, in his view, divorced. Essential to this synthesis was Pythagorean theogony, the science of absolute principles, the key to which was the theory of the sacred numbers.<sup>5</sup> The previous chapter was concerned with the mystical connotations of the subject-matter of Gauguin's painting, 'Vision après le sermon', but the organisation of its formal elements is also based upon theories of sacred forms such as those contained in esoteric philosophy. We have seen (cf. *supra*, p.66) that the open eye and the absent hands of the female figure second from the left in the foreground of the painting denote her privileged status as participant in the mystical experience. If we look closely, we find that she is the culmination, first, of a group of three (in the foreground), second, of four (in profile) and, finally, of ten (the total number of female figures in the painting). There can be little doubt that Gauguin is here drawing upon the mystical tradition in which these numbers play a central role. Papus, for example (*op.cit.* pp.47-55), set out in some detail the symbolism of the number 3, synthesis of principle ( $n^{\circ}1$ ) and antagonism ( $n^{\circ}2$ ), of the number 4, in which 3 was thought to return to the original unity of 1, and of number 10, sum of the first four numbers and

accounts of art's emotional impact within a mystical theory of art and, in doing so, to resolve the antagonism between science and religion which Schuré had diagnosed.

Schuré's own solution to cultural pessimism was a return to a comparative esotericism, from which to deduce an eternal philosophy which would reunite the two principles which the nineteenth century had, in his view, divorced. Essential to this synthesis was Pythagorean theogony, the science of absolute principles, the key to which was the theory of the sacred numbers.<sup>5</sup> The previous chapter was concerned with the mystical connotations of the subject-matter of Gauguin's painting, 'Vision après le sermon', but the organisation of its formal elements is also based upon theories of sacred forms such as those contained in esoteric philosophy. We have seen (cf. *supra*, p.66) that the open eye and the absent hands of the female figure second from the left in the foreground of the painting denote her privileged status as participant in the mystical experience. If we look closely, we find that she is the culmination, first, of a group of three (in the foreground), second, of four (in profile) and, finally, of ten (the total number of female figures in the painting). There can be little doubt that Gauguin is here drawing upon the mystical tradition in which these numbers play a central role. Papus, for example (*op.cit.* pp.47-55), set out in some detail the symbolism of the number 3, synthesis of principle (n°1) and antagonism (n°2), of the number 4, in which 3 was thought to return to the original unity of 1, and of number 10, sum of the first four numbers and

symbol of the eternal cycle. Furthermore, to each number corresponded a geometric form, to 3, the triangle, to 4, the square, to 10, the circle (ibid., p. 110),<sup>6</sup> so that it comes as no surprise to find that Gauguin's painting is also constructed upon these shapes. Thus, the woman's open eye forms the apex of one triangle whose two bases are the closed right eye of the praying woman and the closed left eye of the priest and of another whose bases are the extreme of the foliage in the top corners of the picture and in the middle of whose sides we find, on the left, the cow, on the right, the struggling figures, themselves set in a bright red triangle to the right of the tree. The groups of women form increasingly large semi-circles, while around the neck of the chosen woman, a bow forms a circle which then reaches upwards around her head to evoke a second circle directly above her and formed by the branches of the tree. Throughout the composition, Gauguin is consciously exploiting the tradition of numbers and geometrical forms as models of the divine in religious and mystic imaginations.<sup>7</sup>

The theme of spiritual ascension combines with formal considerations to organize other elements of the picture. The tree forms a diagonal from bottom left to top right, the direction of the woman's gaze. The resulting compression of the picture-space draws closer together the earth-bound world to the left of the tree and the transcendental world to the right of it, the tree functioning as a passage between the two. Both are linked by the colour red, symbol of fire in mystical tradition, and the opposite of green, the naturalistic colour for the meadow upon

which the struggle is taking place. On each side of the tree, the cow and the struggling figures derive part of their meaning from their relationship to one another. Jacob and the Angel repeat the cow's shape in a larger scale, their greater size symbolizing a higher level of spiritual consciousness. These centres are in conflict too, for the attitudes of the cow and the figures, together with the contact established on the dark, left side of the tree by the animal's snout and on the light, right side by the Angel's right foot create a quite deliberate tug-of-war effect. This struggle between the opposing forces of the material and the spiritual is carried on within the two figures to the right of the painting. Jacob has his back turned to the top right-hand corner; the Angel reproduces the same lowered hands and three-quarter frontality as those which characterize the female figures. The Angel's wings are upright in his effort to free himself from Jacob's grip and return to Heaven - 'let me go for the day breaketh'. The wings formed by the headgear of the two Breton women in the foreground point downwards to the earth.<sup>8</sup>

Gauguin directed the gaze of the main female figure upwards and to the right, thereby giving a spiritual dimension to Seurat's scientific symbolism of linear directions, in which those above the horizontal denote gaiety, those below, sadness of tone. For Seurat, the existence of such scientifically-established affective responses enabled the artist to create in the work of art an emotional coincidence between himself and the spectator. Through the painter's exploration of pictorial language,

art would become a thing of public experience. Gauguin retained the physiological theory of lines and colours as emotional stimuli but added to it his mystical conception of art as the language of the divine, the model for which was to be found in the Biblical parable:

...j'agis consciemment selon ma nature intellectuelle, j'agis un peu comme la Bible dont la doctrine...s'énonce sous une forme symbolique présentant un double aspect; une forme qui d'abord matérialise l'Idée pure pour la rendre plus sensible, affectant l'allure du surnaturalisme; c'est le sens littéral, superficiel, figuratif, mystérieux d'une parabole; et puis le second aspect donnant l'Esprit de celle-ci. C'est le sens non plus figuratif; mais figuré, explicite de cette parabole.

(P. Gauguin, letter to A. Fontainas, August 1899, in: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.293). *[Gauguin's italics]*.

Gauguin's interest in Biblical language can be found in his correspondence some fifteen years before this letter to Fontainas.<sup>9</sup> If we remember that Gauguin described his art in terms of an 'évolution vers la complication de l'idée dans la simplification de la forme',<sup>10</sup> it is not difficult to see why he would be attracted to a philosophy of language in which a superficial level of meaning hid a deeper one. Biblical language was simple, but ambiguous by omission. The apparent simplicity of the parables had not prevented the apostles from misunderstanding them.<sup>11</sup> There were other reasons, however. Gauguin, not unnaturally, gave himself the part of Christ in this modern and coloured New Testament. One of the most famous of the Brittany paintings of 1889, 'Le Christ au Jardin des Oliviers', is clearly intended as a self-portrait.<sup>12</sup> In the 'Vision...', it is a short step from Jacob's transfiguration at Peniel to the theme of the artist as the chosen one, who, in the creative process, becomes

the equal of God. Though Gauguin's interest in Biblical language was real enough, there is something slightly pathetic in the way in which it also enabled him to clothe in philosophical respectability his otherwise naked megalomania.

In the 'Vision...', therefore, Gauguin consciously exploited ancient, mystical theories of sacred forms and contemporary, scientific accounts of the physiological stimuli produced by coloured shapes for both accorded priority to a non-discursive mode of apprehension, itself an analogue of the way in which God apprehended the truth. For this reason, the sense of sight enjoyed a privileged status among the senses and reinforced Gauguin's views on the superiority of painting among the arts. He described its advantage over music in the following way:

...en peinture on obtient une unité impossible en musique où les accords viennent les uns après les autres, et le jugement éprouve alors une fatigue incessante s'il veut réunir la fin au commencement. En somme, l'oreille est un sens inférieur à celui de l'oeil. L'ouïe ne peut servir qu'à un seul son à la fois, tandis que la vue embrasse tout, en même temps qu'à son gré elle simplifie.

(P. Gauguin: 'Notes synthétiques', pp.51-2).

Such ideas were not new in 1886.<sup>13</sup> For the mystical Gauguin, human perception offered a distant analogue of the way in which God resumed Knowledge. The painter sought to pass a sensation received from nature through the filter of his aesthetic sense of lines and colours and to produce, in the process, a visual image which would re-create in the spectator an emotional equivalent of the original experience. In this way, the work of art was a symbol. Since man's intuition of the meaning of the universe was a mysterious one (we

remember that Gauguin criticized the Impressionists for not having searched 'at the mysterious centre of thought' (cf. supra, p. 59)), the pictorial image could be an equivalent only insofar as the spectator might not exhaust it semantically by positing a one-to-one relationship between image and idea, between sign and signification. Surely what is most important about the vision in Gauguin's painting is that it is not revealed on canvas but takes place outside of the frame, offstage to the right, as it were. By their very nature, such visions defied representation, nor might this defiance be countered by assigning one meaning to each figurative element. The priest in the picture might derive meaning from 1) his function in life, as an intermediary between man and God; 2) from his sex, as the third male figure in the painting; 3) from his position, to the right of the tree; 4) from his relationship to the praying woman, though it is not obvious whether this relationship is meant to be one of opposition (man-woman? sinner-priest?) or of association (that is, in the initiation ceremony, since both figures have the back of their head removed by the picture-frame<sup>14</sup>); 5) from his shape, since his head forms the final semi-circle whose line leads the eye outside of the frame in the direction of the revelation; 6) from his facial features and their relationship to the degrees of schematization to which I referred earlier (cf. pp. 65-6). No doubt one might prolong indefinitely this list of possible meanings. To do so would merely confirm that Gauguin is rejecting a form of painting in which the priest might be interpreted as an intellectual sign, either of a real priest or of the idea of a priest (e.g. as



'instrument of the divine'). When a critic insisted, with reference to the Tahiti paintings, that 'toutes ces couleurs fabuleuses, cet air embrasé mais tamisé, silencieux, tout cela n'existe pas!',<sup>15</sup> the painter replied:

Oui, cela existe, comme équivalent de cette grandeur, profondeur de ce mystère de Tahiti, quand il faut l'exprimer dans une toile d'un mètre carré.

(ibid.).

In order to preserve the essential enigma of experience, Gauguin disrupted contemporary narrative approaches to the image. We have seen the part played by line and colour in this process but another example is provided by his use of perspective. It is customary to say that in the 'Vision...', Gauguin abolishes perspective and flattens the picture-plane in order to create a decorative rhythm across the painting. This is only partly true, for one might equally say that the painter multiplies, rather than abolishes, perspective. The two women on the right in the foreground are looking down upon the scene of the struggle, as though they were still inside the Breton church, looking down upon the service from the nave.<sup>16</sup> The woman who is experiencing the vision is, as we have seen, staring off into an unlimited receding space to the right. The space to the left of the picture is vertical and closed by the tree; to the right, it is receding and open. The opposition between the two perspectives underlines the separation between real and ideal worlds situated either side of the tree. Gauguin does not so much abolish perspective as make it participate in the painting's mystical premisses. The eye embraces these different perspectives

simultaneously, thereby, in Gauguin's view, imitating God, in whom all possible propositions are resumed. In the 'Vision...', image and formal elements combine to express the painter's mystical philosophy. Though twentieth-century art history has largely ignored the extent to which an esoteric tradition informs both the subject and the formal values of the painting, it should not be forgotten that, for Gauguin, Symbolism and abstraction were synonymous theories of art.

The parallel which the painter drew between artistic and divine creation also served to define his theory of the artistic sign, since exploration of what he called the mysterious centre of thought also led to the mysterious centre of such signs. His 'Vision...' was his own witness to the view that the artistic sign did not simply communicate a complete and pre-established intellectual content but was the instrument through which this content developed and defined itself:

Mais aussi cette question se pose et j'en suis perplexe: Où commence l'exécution d'un tableau, où finit-elle? Au moment où des sentiments extrêmes sont en fusion au plus profond de l'être, au moment où ils éclatent, et que toute la pensée sort comme la lave d'un volcan, n'y a-t-il pas là une éclosion de l'oeuvre soudainement créée, brutale si l'on veut, mais grande et d'apparence sur-humaine?

(P. Gauguin: letter to G.-D. de Monfreid in: Lettres de Paul Gauguin à Georges-Daniel de Monfreid, Paris, Plon, 1930, pp.94-5).

Ten years later, but in tones which seem distant from those of Gauguin by an age, another painter spoke of the same process:

Si, sur une toile blanche, je disperse des sensations de bleu, de vert, de rouge, à mesure que j'ajoute des touches, chacune de celles que j'ai posées antérieure-

ment perd de son importance. J'ai à peindre un intérieur: j'ai devant moi une armoire, elle me donne une sensation de rouge bien vivant, et je pose un rouge qui me satisfait. Que je pose à côté un vert, que je rende le parquet par un jaune, et il y aura encore, entre ce vert ou ce jaune et le blanc de la toile des rapports qui me satisferont. Mais ces différents tons se diminuent mutuellement. Il faut que les signes divers que j'emploie soient équilibrés de telle sorte qu'ils ne se détruisent pas les uns les autres.

(H. Matisse: 'Notes d'un peintre', *La Grande revue*, 12<sup>e</sup> année, Tome 52, n°24, 25 décembre 1908, pp.738-9).

Gauguin spoke of erupting volcanos for he was conscious of addressing a late nineteenth-century audience reared on romantic concepts of artistic creation as the emotional burst of inspired genius. Matisse used the more sober tones of the teacher he always was. Both were, however, saying much the same thing. Both were bearing witness to the fact that painting, whatever else it is, is always an involvement with lines and colours on a flat surface, with material signs, which have a tendency, in the elaboration of the painting, to invent relationships to one another and to the whole:<sup>17</sup>

En un mot, chaque oeuvre est un ensemble de signes inventés pendant l'exécution et pour le besoin de l'endroit. Sortis de la composition pour laquelle ils ont été créés, ces signes n'ont plus aucune action...Le signe pour lequel je forge une image n'a aucune valeur s'il ne chante pas avec d'autres signes que je dois déterminer au cours de mon invention et qui sont tout à fait particuliers à cette invention. Le signe est déterminé dans le moment que je l'emploie et pour l'objet auquel il doit participer. C'est pourquoi je ne peux à l'avance déterminer des signes qui ne changent jamais et qui seraient comme une écriture: ceci paralysait la liberté de mon invention.

(H. Matisse: 'Témoignages', *XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, nouv. sér., n°2, Janvier 1952, pp.66-7).

To the view of Gauguin and Matisse that each work of art was a unique symbol, re-creating in its own

structural form the structure of an emotion, many of the symbolist poets opposed a more restrictive theory of artistic language as a means of communication which was composed of elements, each having an independent emotional significance, as words their meaning. Their reasons for doing so embrace a considerable part of the French intellectual tradition of the nineteenth century. On the one hand, they were weighed down by the cloudy speculations upon art as the particularisation of the Universal Mind in favour of which post-Kantian Romantic philosophers had abandoned the broad areas of advance made possible in aesthetics by Kant's largely factual (if, inevitably, limited) distinctions between the arts. On the other, they developed in a narrow way the controversy between referential and non-referential music in the form bequeathed them by Baudelaire. The former resulted in a limited appreciation of the creative, transforming role of the medium in artistic activity; the latter, in the unshakeable (though, in my view, mistaken) belief that Baudelaire had 'proved' the primacy of the verbal model for all areas of such activity. These two trends had come together in the poet's famous pages on Wagner and were, in turn, reinforced by the combination, present in the writings of some of the poet's young admirers of the next generation, of the semantic theory implicit in Neo-Impressionism and the Platonic theory of the idea's relationship to the sign (and the inevitable inadequacy of this relationship). These varied strands were, by the late 1880's, well woven together and some of the young poets were insufficiently-disciplined thinkers to be able to unravel them again. In their

ambitions for their own art form and their hesitant knowledge of others, armed with their verbal models of artistic communication, they simply pressed on regardless.

In February 1888, a cartoon by Luqué which appeared on the cover of the review, Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui, expressed these problems very succinctly. It showed a child colouring the vowels among his letter-blocks - not an unusual activity for a child of the Third Republic, proud of its progressive education policies. The child's expression, however, undermines, through its ambiguity, the playful associations of the image. Like all good cartoons, this one has its serious side. It crystallized perfectly the ambiguity of public reaction to the child in question and to his coloured vowels in particular. It was all very well Verlaine affirming that 'Moi, qui ai connu Rimbaud, je sais qu'il se foutait pas mal si A était rouge ou vert. Il le voyait comme ça, mais c'est tout',<sup>18</sup> René Ghil was not the only one not listening. A decade of young enthusiasts waited for the appearance of the 'Ecole instrumentiste en peinture' and if they waited in vain, it certainly was not due to any lack of effort on Ghil's part. The aesthetic theory which he found in Rimbaud's 'Sonnet des voyelles' and which seemed to him summarized in Rimbaud's claim to have invented a poetic language accessible to all the senses,<sup>19</sup> appeared to mark the culmination of a revolution in art. Had not Baudelaire's writings provided the theory, Rimbaud's sonnet, the proof, that, henceforth, the poet was master of all the senses, that the different domains of artistic creation might be subsumed within verbal categories?

Audition colorée. Une langue unissant les formes poétiques, éloquente, plastique, picturale et musicale: 'L'INSTRUMENTATION PARLEE' de René Ghil. [Langi's capitals].

(A. Langi: 'Le symbolisme et l'instrumentation poétique', Ecrits pour l'art, Tome I, n°4, 7 avril 1887, p.61).

All that remained for Ghil to do was to establish the principles of this verbal imperialism, a task to which he applied himself with great vigour. The notoriety of Rimbaud's sonnet during these years should not, however, make us overlook the extent to which the ground had been prepared for it throughout the nineteenth century in France. It will be necessary to cover briefly some of this ground again in order to understand more clearly the premisses behind literary Symbolism's approach to the visual image.

Schopenhauer's hierarchy of the arts had as its premiss the idea that art permitted temporary escape from the tyranny of the Will. From subjection to this cosmic force, man passed, through aesthetic contemplation, to disinterested observance of it. To each art was assigned a position on the scale according to that stage of the Will's objectification which it revealed. Of all arts, however, music stood alone. While the other arts expressed ideas, the objectification of the Will, only music expressed Will itself, directly and intuitively. For Schopenhauer, the true philosophy would consist of the expression in concepts of all that music expressed without them. In this respect, he continued and enlarged a view of the metaphysical role of music which can be traced back, in German romantic thought, through Herder and Wackenroder, to the beginning of the nineteenth century and in French thought, to Rousseau's essay upon the origins of language.<sup>20</sup> Upon

Audition colorée. Une langue unissant les formes poétiques, éloquente, plastique, picturale et musicale: 'L'INSTRUMENTATION PARLEE' de René Ghil. [Langi's capitals].

(A. Langi: 'Le symbolisme et l'instrumentation poétique', Ecrits pour l'art, Tome I, n°4, 7 avril 1887, p.61).

All that remained for Ghil to do was to establish the principles of this verbal imperialism, a task to which he applied himself with great vigour. The notoriety of Rimbaud's sonnet during these years should not, however, make us overlook the extent to which the ground had been prepared for it throughout the nineteenth century in France. It will be necessary to cover briefly some of this ground again in order to understand more clearly the premisses behind literary Symbolism's approach to the visual image.

Schopenhauer's hierarchy of the arts had as its premiss the idea that art permitted temporary escape from the tyranny of the Will. From subjection to this cosmic force, man passed, through aesthetic contemplation, to disinterested observance of it. To each art was assigned a position on the scale according to that stage of the Will's objectification which it revealed. Of all arts, however, music stood alone. While the other arts expressed ideas, the objectification of the Will, only music expressed Will itself, directly and intuitively. For Schopenhauer, the true philosophy would consist of the expression in concepts of all that music expressed without them. In this respect, he continued and enlarged a view of the metaphysical role of music which can be traced back, in German romantic thought, through Herder and Wackenroder, to the beginning of the nineteenth century and in French thought, to Rousseau's essay upon the origins of language.<sup>20</sup> Upon

this view of the transcendental significance of music, Baudelaire brought to bear a notion which had an equally long history by the mid-nineteenth century, that of 'correspondances' which the poet gleaned from a variety of sources, from the abbé Constant, Balzac and Fourier to Hoffman, Lavater and Swedenborg. His objection to the Schopenhauerian tradition took the form of denying, not that music was incapable of expressing transcendental truths, but that it alone of all the arts was capable of doing so.

The theory of art contained in Baudelaire's sonnet, 'Correspondances', will be sufficiently familiar to all students of French nineteenth-century poetry as to require no further elaboration here. What is important in the context of this chapter is Baudelaire's attitude to music and, in particular, to the relationship between music and the programmatic text, for, here, he faces the problem of the relationship between musical sound and possible verbal definitions of it.

The 'meaning of music' is a dangerous phrase. It suggests an intellectual content divorced from musical form, an idea divorced from sound. Non-musicians are particularly wont to approach music in this way and the symbolist poets were no more and no less ignorant of musical form than poets usually are. It must be said in their defence, however, that there are times, in the course of his article on Wagner, when Baudelaire must have seemed to them to have provided the moral authority for this kind of approach. Of the 'Tannhäuser' overture, he wrote:

Quant à la grande marche du second acte, elle a conquis



depuis longtemps le suffrage des esprits les plus rebelles, et l'on peut lui appliquer le même éloge qu'aux deux ouvertures dont j'ai parlé, à savoir d'exprimer de la manière la plus visible, la plus colorée, la plus représentative, ce qu'elle veut exprimer. Qui donc, en entendant ces accents si riches et si fiers, ce rythme pompeux élégamment cadencé, ces fanfares royales, pourrait se figurer autre chose qu'une pompe féodale, une défilade d'hommes héroïques, dans des vêtements éclatants, tous de haute stature, tous de grande volonté et de foi naïve, aussi magnifiques dans leurs plaisirs que terribles dans leurs guerres?

(Ch. Baudelaire: 'Richard Wagner et "Tannhäuser" à Paris' in: Oeuvres complètes, p.1226).

Musical form as the 'most visible, coloured, representative' expression of an idea - the relevance of Baudelaire's question can hardly have escaped the symbolist art critics, even if its dangers did. Yet despite the apparent equivalence between musical sound and abstract concept contained in these lines, it would, I think, be wrong to conclude that Baudelaire too is prepared to identify musical form with a register of verbal equivalents.<sup>21</sup> The balance of the article suggests a different attitude. Wagner's individual solution to the problem of lyric drama set the poet the task of explaining musical form's potentiality for re-creating in the listener an emotional experience analogous to that from which it drew its source:

... Wagner n'avait jamais cessé de répéter que la musique (dramatique) devait parler le sentiment, s'adapter au sentiment avec la même exactitude que la parole, mais évidemment d'une autre manière... [*Baudelaire's italics*]. (ibid., p.1215).

The poet's own solution reveals the difficulties which he experienced in defining this process:

...il reste encore incontestable que plus la musique est éloquente, plus la suggestion est rapide et juste,

et plus il y a des chances pour que les hommes sensibles conçoivent des idées en rapport avec celles qui inspiraient l'artiste.

(ibid., p.1211).

The words 'éloquent', 'suggestion', 'rapide', 'juste' and 'hommes sensibles' certainly raise more problems than they solve, yet they answer, by their very imprecision, the poet's own question. The fact is that he is unable to explain the way in which communication is realised, for though he is aware that it is due to formal elements (a 'rapid and just suggestion'), he does not possess the technical knowledge of musical organization that would enable him to explain how Wagner has drawn upon pre-existing elements in musical tradition in order to achieve personal expression. That such a search within the tradition of poetic language had been his own experience, Baudelaire was, of course, perfectly aware. The poet is obviously interested in the idea that music might organise its expressive elements into equally logical sequences of meaning as those which characterise verbal syntax but is aware, through his experience as a poet, that such meaning can be expressed only in musical form, in arranged sequences of sound.<sup>22</sup> He, therefore, leaves to someone more specialized than himself in this form of organisation the task of explaining the way in which interrelations of formal elements achieve the desired result. He refers the reader to articles on Wagner by Liszt and Berlioz which had previously appeared in the French press. For his own part, he resigns himself to providing a verbal equivalent of the experience:

Ce que j'ai éprouvé est indescriptible, et si vous

daignez ne pas rire, j'essaierai de vous le traduire.

(Ch.Baudelaire: letter to R. Wagner in: Oeuvres complètes, p.1205).

He thus defines his experience as 'la sensation de la béatitude spirituelle et physique'(ibid.,p.1214), 'la contemplation de quelque chose infiniment grand et infiniment beau'(ibid.), 'une lumière intense'(ibid.) etc., that is, the sort of profound emotional experience which any similarly sensitive listener might have expressed in much the same way. Such states were not what the music meant, they were simply intended by Baudelaire to be verbal aids - imprecise ones at that - to an understanding of the music as a unity, as experience-in-musical form. The description quoted above of the 'feudal procession' of the second act is more precise but not essentially different from that of these emotional states. It too is only a guide to the music's original conception, one which will make easier for the listener the eventual re-conversion of musical form into emotional experience. Should the formal arrangement of sounds fail to achieve this, it is difficult to see what in the text or in any verbal description will save it. Elsewhere, as we have seen (cf.supra, p.24), the poet suggests that a true equivalent would be a poem or a painting, that is, an organised aesthetic totality whose elements are drawn into polyphonic relationships which surpass the sum of these elements, whether colours or sounds, lines or words. In the case of music, it may be difficult not to think of an abstract concept or to visualize a concrete act while listening, but Baudelaire's awareness of the materials of art prevented him separating this concept or visualization from the direct

daignez ne pas rire, j'essaierai de vous le traduire.

(Ch.Baudelaire: letter to R. Wagner in: Oeuvres complètes, p.1205).

He thus defines his experience as 'la sensation de la béatitude spirituelle et physique'(ibid.,p.1214), 'la contemplation de quelque chose infiniment grand et infiniment beau'(ibid.), 'une lumière intense'(ibid.) etc., that is, the sort of profound emotional experience which any similarly sensitive listener might have expressed in much the same way. Such states were not what the music meant, they were simply intended by Baudelaire to be verbal aids - imprecise ones at that - to an understanding of the music as a unity, as experience-in-musical form. The description quoted above of the 'feudal procession' of the second act is more precise but not essentially different from that of these emotional states. It too is only a guide to the music's original conception, one which will make easier for the listener the eventual re-conversion of musical form into emotional experience. Should the formal arrangement of sounds fail to achieve this, it is difficult to see what in the text or in any verbal description will save it. Elsewhere, as we have seen (cf.supra, p.24), the poet suggests that a true equivalent would be a poem or a painting, that is, an organised aesthetic totality whose elements are drawn into polyphonic relationships which surpass the sum of these elements, whether colours or sounds, lines or words. In the case of music, it may be difficult not to think of an abstract concept or to visualize a concrete act while listening, but Baudelaire's awareness of the materials of art prevented him separating this concept or visualization from the direct

aural impact of organized sounds. In his cosmology of inter-sensory correspondences, Baudelaire postulated the equivalence of the verbal and musical arts, not the identification of word and sound, still less the aesthetic value of such identifications per se, i.e. when divorced from an aesthetic context. Though a given sound might evoke a certain colour, Baudelaire could hardly have considered this sufficient to distinguish a poet from, say, a civil servant, for experimental psychology, even in Baudelaire's day, was proving the generality of such experiences. It is by blurring such distinctions that René Ghil was able to embark upon his systematic catalogue of word-sound-colour identifications, but then, as Lehmann has quite rightly remarked,<sup>23</sup> Ghil was not alone in believing that Baudelairean correspondences and Wagnerian total art were one and the same thing.

Wagner's definitive view of the 'Gesamtkunstwerk' resulted from his very important encounter, in the autumn of 1854, with the writings of Schopenhauer.<sup>24</sup> Here, the musician's theory of the synthesis of the arts came up against the philosopher's uncompromising belief in the supremacy of music. With Schopenhauer's idea as his starting-point, Wagner set out to provide metaphysical justification of the synthesis of visual drama and music as complementary expressions of cosmic Will. In his essay on Beethoven, written in 1870, Wagner argued that the work of Shakespeare and Beethoven was equally subject to the laws governing each art-form but that both equally transcended them to such an extent that these laws no longer seemed to exist and that, conse-

quently, the definitive art-form would be that which united the two at the point at which their individual limits touched.<sup>25</sup>

The brawls which concluded Wagner's first attempt to impose himself upon the Parisian public with the 'Tannhäuser' production of 1861 have taken their place in the legend of the modern movement in the arts. The French defeat at Sedan and the opposition to everything German which resulted<sup>26</sup> effectively delayed the establishment of Wagner's reputation in France which enthusiastic articles by Baudelaire, Mendès and Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, published in the French press prior to the war, might, in other circumstances, have accelerated. Another decade and more was to prove necessary. The theatre of Bayreuth was opened in 1876, the first Lamoureux concert was held in 1882. An important stage in Wagner's reception in France was reached by the publication of Schuré's two-volume study of the musician.<sup>27</sup> The importance of this work for our problem is that, in a long footnote, the author restated the distinction, made by Schopenhauer and Wagner, between music and the plastic arts. Referring to Schopenhauer's theory of music, Schuré remarked:

Les autres arts agissent sur nous par l'intermédiaire de la réflexion et de l'imagination; la musique par contre agit sans le secours de l'idée de causalité et nous touche tout droit dans le fond de notre être. Le philosophe en tire la conclusion que si les arts plastiques représentent les types éternels des choses, les idées de Platon, en qui l'âme du monde se condense et s'individualise, la musique exprime cette âme elle-même, ou, si l'on veut, la chose en soi. Elle nous donne la quintessence de la vie sans ses formes apparentes, les passions sans les motifs qui n'en sont que l'occasion, la nature sans enveloppe. [Schuré's italics].

(ibid., p. 210).

There is little doubt in my mind that Schuré's account of Schopenhauer's influence on Wagner was an important source of Aurier's theory of the plastic sign. Before dealing with this problem, however, we must examine the place allotted to painting in that movement towards the unification of the artistic experience which has such an important place in the debate upon art during the final thirty years of the nineteenth century in France. Here, the Revue wagnérienne occupied one of the front ranks. Within Wagner's view that the arts touched at the limits of their respective spheres of influence, Téodor de Wyzéwa incorporated painting and divided the mind into three neat compartments - sensation, intellection and emotion - to each of which was assigned a domain of artistic activity. This unauthorized version of the Master's thought was adapted, in an article on Wagnerian painting, to accommodate Wyzéwa's belief in the emotional content of painting's decorative element.<sup>28</sup>

Wagner is clearly not the only source of Wagnerian painting. Not finding in Wagner any analysis of pictorial form which might serve his theoretical synthesis, Wyzéwa turned to ideas which hardly necessitated a journey to Bayreuth. Since, for a painter, the status of symphonist depended to a large extent upon the use which he made of colour, it comes as no surprise to find, among the chosen few, painters such as Rubens, Rembrandt and Watteau who had earlier been pressed into service on behalf of the protagonists of colour in the colour-versus-line controversy which had divided the Academy at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Thus, Rubens 'créa les plus intenses symphonies

de la couleur',<sup>30</sup> while Watteau's works 'rappelleraient certains "andante" des quatuors de Mozart'(ibid.). The innovation of Wyzéwa's article, however, was the following praise for the 'grands panneaux décoratifs de M. Puvis de Chavannes'(ibid.,p.110):

La peinture émotionnelle, symphonique, doit reconnaître aujourd'hui pour maître M. Puvis de Chavannes...Il a dressé des poèmes passionnels incomparables, par le jeu symphonique des tons et des formes. Dans son inoubliable tableau, 'Le Pauvre pêcheur', par une raideur voulue des contours, et leur gracilité, et par une disposition apollinienne des couleurs, se chantait la pitoyable souffrance des âmes.

(ibid.).

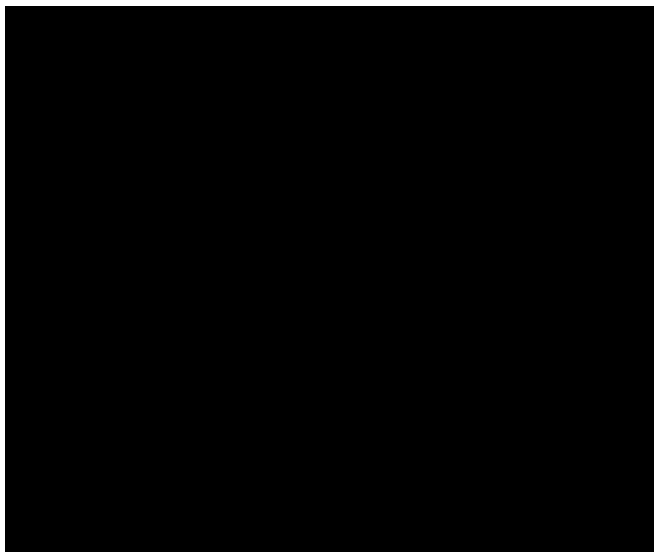
Wyzéwa's article is an important source of the enormous reputation enjoyed in literary circles by Puvis de Chavannes from 1886. At first sight, Wyzéwa's musical comparisons may not appear to go far beyond those symphonies in white major which clutter up the field of comparative aesthetics. Had he left it at that, we would not need to be detained for long by Wagnerian painting. Yet since this art had, as its starting-point, the domain of visual sensations which occupied, below intellection and emotion, the lowest position in Wyzéwa's hierarchical division of human faculties, the critic needed to explain how these painters became pictorial symphonists:

C'est que les couleurs et les lignes, sous l'influence de l'habitude, avaient, elles aussi, comme les mots, revêtu pour les âmes une valeur émotionnelle indépendante des objets mêmes qu'elles représentaient.

(ibid.p.106).

Thus, for Wyzéwa, the pictorial means had become 'non plus seulement les signes de sensations visuelles, mais les signes aussi de nos émotions (ibid.). They had become 'comme les syllabes de la poésie, comme les notes de la musique, des signes émotionnels'





P. Puvis de Chavannes: 'Le Pauvre pêcheur', 1881, 191 X 157 cm.  
Musée du Louvre, Paris.

(Malgré sa douceur apparente, M. de Chavannes est un insurgé. 'Le Pauvre pêcheur' est intéressant comme une hérésie, et si nous consentons à l'étudier, c'est à la condition que l'Ecole française y regardera deux fois avant d'adopter la formule nouvelle.

Ce tableau est une peinture de vendredi saint. Toutes les boutiques des marchands de couleurs sont fermées... Dans cette composition étrange et volontaire, M. Puvis de Chavannes a visé à l'économie. Très peu de dessin, très peu de couleur, très peu de lumière, tel a été son idéal: partout le minimum est atteint. L'indigence systématique de cette peinture étonnerait un associé. Et voyez combien les choses d'art sont compliquées et parfois contradictoires: ce tableau qui existe à peine, est singulièrement expressif; il y a un accent douloureux dans cette brume: dans ce néant il y a une émotion. Au milieu du paysage désolé, le pêcheur est un poignant image du dénuement, de l'abandon, de la misère irrémédiable.... si le tableau est monochrome et vide, il contient un sentiment profond... M. Puvis de Chavannes... fait un tableau avec un rêve et c'est dans l'élimination de tout élément pittoresque, dans l'effacement universel qu'il trouve de l'expression.

P. Mantz: 'Le Salon', Le Temps, 21e année, n°7332, 22 mai 1881.

Il est des sensations picturales que rien n'efface, dont chaque jour, chaque événement augmentent au contraire l'intensité et la lumière. 'Le Pauvre pêcheur' est du nombre.

L. Rictor: 'Puvis de Chavannes', La Plume, Tome 8, n°138, 15 janvier 1895, p.40.)



P. Puvis de Chavannes: 'Le Pauvre pêcheur', 1881, 191 X 157 cm.  
Musée du Louvre, Paris.

(Malgré sa douceur apparente, M. de Chavannes est un insurgé. 'Le Pauvre pêcheur' est intéressant comme une hérésie, et si nous consentons à l'étudier, c'est à la condition que l'Ecole française y regardera deux fois avant d'adopter la formule nouvelle.

Ce tableau est une peinture de vendredi saint. Toutes les boutiques des marchands de couleurs sont fermées... Dans cette composition étrange et volontaire, M. Puvis de Chavannes a visé à l'économie. Très peu de dessin, très peu de couleur, très peu de lumière, tel a été son idéal: partout le minimum est atteint. L'indigence systématique de cette peinture étonnerait un ascète. Et voyez combien les choses d'art sont compliquées et parfois contradictoires: ce tableau qui existe à peine, est singulièrement expressif; il y a un accent douloureux dans cette brume: dans ce néant il y a une émotion. Au milieu du paysage désolé, le pêcheur est un poignant image du dénuement, de l'abandon, de la misère irrémédiable.... si le tableau est monochrome et vide, il contient un sentiment profond... M. Puvis de Chavannes... fait un tableau avec un rêve et c'est dans l'élimination de tout élément pittoresque, dans l'effacement universel qu'il trouve de l'expression.

P. Mantz: 'Le Salon', Le Temps, 21e année, n°7332, 22 mai 1881.

Il est des sensations picturales que rien n'efface, dont chaque jour, chaque événement augmentent au contraire l'intensité et la lumière. 'Le Pauvre pêcheur' est du nombre.

L. Riotor: 'Puvis de Chavannes', La Plume, Tome 8, n°138, 15 janvier 1895, p.40.)

(ibid. Wyzéwa's italics). Finding nothing in Wagner to inform him of the function of line and colour in painting, Wyzéwa turned to those works of Blanc and Henry to which I referred above (cf.p.115) and which formed the pictorial manuals of the generation of the 1880's. As a matter of fact, Wyzéwa's theory of the emotional associations acquired by visual values is only a more elaborate survival of eighteenth-century associationalist theories derived from John Locke.<sup>31</sup> No doubt this affiliation is also present in Blanc and Henry. I am thinking particularly of a study such as that by the Dutch aesthetician, Humbert de Superville, whose essay entitled Essai sur les signes inconditionnels dans l'art was published in Leyde in 1827 and was certainly read by the two French psychologists of visual representation. Wyzéwa integrated this theory within Wagnerian notions of art synthesis by stating that each art-form was the emotional equivalent of the others. From a purely theoretical point of view, there is little to object to here. His study of Wagnerian painting, however, arrived at the crossroads of several French nineteenth-century intellectual trends with the result that it lent itself to a wide variety of interpretations on the part of the symbolist poets. Some were able to see it as revealing the true dimension of Rimbaud's sonnet, others to re-work it into a modernized version of Platonic theories of the sign, while a few would deform Wyzéwa's intentions least by developing the idea of the affective potentialities of artistic form.

Wyzéwa's emotional equivalence between

verbal, visual and musical values soon became, for some poets, the subordination of the second and third to the first. On this, as on everything else, Saint-Pol-Roux had his word to say:

Voyez-vous, le maximum d'art en littérature ne peut être acquis que par un contingent relevant de tous les sens fédérés et finalement contrôlés par ce que je dénommai jadis le 'Vatican des sensations', c'est-à-dire, l'esprit. - Oui, la grappe des sens écrasée au pressoir de l'esprit, et voici réalisé le vin de l'expression forte...L'art est devenu complet, synthétique, symphonique.

(Saint-Pol-Roux in: V. Ségalen: 'Les synesthésies et l'école symboliste, Mercure de France, T.42, n°148, Avril 1902, pp.89-90).

As the title of the article indicates, the subject under discussion here is not Wagner as it happens, though if the reader has followed the argument this far, he will have realized that it might easily have been. No, the subject is synaesthesia and the journey through Baudelaire's pages on Wagner and Wyzéwa's slight variations upon a Wagnerian theme was made to show the reasons for which Rimbaud's famous sonnet was interpreted by some poets as the culmination of an increasing movement towards the verbalization of pictorial form. By ignoring that synaesthesia in poetry was a theory of metaphor and not one of directly-mixed sensations, they considered the sonnet to have proved that pictorial means might be subsumed within verbal categories. The aesthetic links which joined Rimbaud to Wagner in the minds of these poets were completed by the confirmation of synaesthetic phenomena which, after Baudelaire,<sup>32</sup> they found at the heart of the leit-motif, defined by Ségalen as:

...une synesthésie où l'un des termes sensoriels serait

remplacé par un terme abstrait, un personnage, un fait, un principe...jouant le rôle, pour l'auteur, de sensation primaire. Quant à la seconde, elle n'est autre que le contour musical lui-même qui figure ce personnage, ce principe, ce fait. Le leit-motif est une 'Personnification'.

(V. Ségalen, op.cit.,p.75).

Artistic form as the personification of abstract content: no wonder René Ghil really believed that art's golden age had finally arrived and that all that was required was a definitive catalogue of such personifications from which poets, painters and musicians would draw their repertoires. In another context, E.H. Gombrich has referred to this idea that artistic forms might possess a fixed semantic content, independent of context, as the 'dictionary fallacy'.<sup>33</sup> Where Gauguin and Matisse insisted upon the importance, for meaning, of the interaction of visual signs, Ghil maintained that colours and verbal sounds were so intimately related that the one would invariably invoke the other. Not surprisingly, his efforts to compile this dictionary soon brought home to his contemporaries the full implications of his error. The procedure soon became an object of ridicule in symbolist circles, as is seen in a letter in which a certain Joseph Delima explained to Mallarmé how he would set about writing a poem entitled 'L'Enterrement':

...je commencerai par décrire le cimetière, en faisant ressortir les tons prédominants qui donnent la première impression. Ce serait alors le blanc légèrement grisâtre des tombes que je traduirai au moyen de sons clairs, de 'aa' et de 'oo', dont je comblerai mes épithètes, mes verbes et mes substantifs...etc...Ensuite avec une expression forte je détacherai des premiers vers un petit groupe d'autres pleins de 'ouou', de couleurs sombres qui montreront les invités, habillés en deuil en trouvant la tombe du mort.

(J. Delima: 'A M. Stéphane Mallarmé', La Cravache, n°396,

One can only be grateful that the poem, with its accumulated onomatopoeia of ghost-like wailings, was never written. The would-be author of this less-than-masterpiece had been led to formulate different colours for each vowel than those contained in Rimbaud's sonnet, which is hardly surprising since he claimed to be a Portuguese-speaking South American! His name, De-Lima, really is too much of a coincidence and if one looked closely enough, one would no doubt find Kahn and/or Fénéon, frequent contributors to La Cravache, hiding behind this absurd pseudonym. The little joke was made to sound convincing by its author(s) ingeniously addressing the letter to Mallarmé and by concluding the description of 'L'Enterrement' in the following way:

Une poésie ainsi conçue ne peut qu'être un tableau impressionniste, rapidement ébauché en de larges coups de pinceau. Ensuite le sens des mots et des phrases, qui jouera un rôle secondaire, peut et doit néanmoins aider de sa force l'expression générale fournie par la forme. (ibid.).

Both Kahn and Fénéon were better placed than most to know that this interpretation of Impressionism had, in the case of Mallarmé, a solid basis in fact. They also knew that it implied a different approach to visual values than that contained in 'L'Enterrement' by the fictitious Joseph of Peru.

The most common objections to Ghil took one of two forms, the first, that synaesthetic phenomena were strictly personal, the second, that from the combination of sensory evocations, there was created a new aesthetic emotion. In Ségalen, we find both. After describing such phenomena as 'de puissants

moyens d'art - mais d'art intime, de prodigieux outils - mais d'usage rigoureusement personnel' (op.cit., p.60), he goes on to say:

Il nous semble en effet que des sensations associées se dégagent autre chose qu'une plate juxtaposition; la sensation-écho n'est pas seulement évoquée par la primaire, mais du même coup fécondée... Il en naît une émotion jeune, vibrante de fraîcheur et d'inattendu renouveau.

(ibid. p.66).

- which is an adequate definition of all metaphor and not just synaesthetic ones. It forms the basis of all symbolist accounts of the supremacy of the symbol over the allegory. The failure to see synaesthetic phenomena in poetry as metaphorical, the tendency, on the contrary, to see them as implying a real control over visual values, were not to be found only on the side of Ghil and his supporters.

Other critics objected to the unpleasant aspects of Ghil's scientism by insisting upon the personal nature of inter-sensory phenomena to such an extent that they undermined the very concept of communication in art, for if the 'signes émotionnels' of art were comprehensible only to the poet who invented them, then they would not appear to be signs at all. Yet many rationalized in this way their hostility to what they considered to be an ignorant and philistine public. 'Alors pour qui écrira-t-on? Pour soi d'abord... Il arrive bien qu'on parle tout haut sans interlocuteur', remarked Lucien Muhlfeld.<sup>34</sup> The statement is, of course, too sweeping. It is one thing to say that an artist might produce a work which, by its novelty, appeared to fall outside the range of previous experience. It is quite another to say

that such a work is devoid of any semantic element, for no upper limit may be placed upon a person's capacity to understand and appreciate new works of art if he is familiar with the ways in which a particular medium has been used in the past.<sup>35</sup> Even among those who would have agreed in theory with Muhlfield and who condemned Ghil's method, we nevertheless find, in practice, a tendency to employ an emotional register not essentially different from Ghil's dictionary of instrumentism. The colour white, for example, is frequently interpreted as a symbol of purity, gray, of sadness, violet, humility, blue, infinity and so on, together with the family of associations traditionally evoked through these abstract terms. A very interesting example is to be found in Aurier's description of Gauguin's 'Vision...', in the course of which the critic describes the bonnets of the Breton women as 'des ailes de goéland'.<sup>36</sup> I have already said that the painter intended the bonnets to resemble wings (cf. supra, p. 118), so as to contrast, in their downward direction, with those of the Angel, which are up-raised. Aurier's intuitive understanding of this deliberate formal parallel is lost through the reference to gulls in the second term of the comparison. The family of themes associated with the symbol of the gull is the opposite of the earth-bound connotations which Gauguin intended and is in fact drawn from the literary repertoire of images for flight. Aurier underlines this by saying that 'une vague odeur d'encens et de prière... volette parmi les ailes blanches de leurs coiffes' (ibid.). Whether the register is traditional and familiar as in the examples of colour symbolism which I gave or



whether it is historically more local as in the image of the gull in literary Symbolism, the procedure is the same. The passage of formal values through an established code of poetical equivalents enables them to support the same metaphysical premisses.

In the problems discussed in this chapter, Aurier plays a crucial role, for his art criticism enjoyed considerable popularity among the literary Symbolists, at least during the first half of the 1890's.<sup>37</sup> Just in case we had not understood the extent to which a philosophical idealism and Seurat's scientific Neo-Impressionism were reconciled by the symbolist poets, Aurier is there to remind us. Speaking of 'la capitale importance' of 'la symbolique des éléments abstraits du dessin',<sup>38</sup> the critic wrote:

Humbert de Superville semble l'avoir soupçonnée lorsque, dans son Essai sur les signes inconditionnels dans l'art, il établit ses schémas expressifs du visage humain. De nos jours, Charles Henry, qu'on ne saurait suspecter d'attaches symbolistes, s'est préoccupé de ce problème et a écrit quelques notes intéressantes, bien que trop superficielles, sur la signification des directions linéaires et des combinaisons chromatiques.

(*ibid.*).

By saying that symbolist art theory was now being confirmed by the discoveries of the psychological sciences, Aurier intended no more than to add the final touch to the arrival of Symbolism with an element of historical necessity. Only unwittingly did he reveal the extent of their interpenetration. The reference to Humbert de Superville is interesting in this respect. Henry had described the Dutchman's work as 'rarissime',<sup>39</sup> and Aurier can have been led to it only through a study of Henry's work itself, or of that of Charles

Blanc, who had rescued the work from oblivion.<sup>40</sup> The essay took the form of an address to humanity whose salvation was to be assured by a return to idealism. Art was to be the instrument, through the analytically-deduced affective potential of its formal values. Art's signs were 'unconditional' in the sense that they always referred to a specific and pre-established emotional content. Aurier adopted both the religious appeal to humanity and the philosophy behind it. He urges mankind to throw himself upon 'cette ultime planche de salut' of art<sup>41</sup> and reminds the symbolist painter that the aim of art is to express 'en les traduisant dans un langage spécial, les Idées',<sup>42</sup> that he must 'se servir des objets comme d'un sublime alphabet pour exprimer les Idées dont il a la révélation' (ibid., p.163), for, in a painting, 'toute ligne, toute forme, toute couleur est le verbe d'une Idée...' (ibid., p.165).

Lehmann has pointed out<sup>43</sup> that the view that a work of art expressed an idea of which the artist had, to use Aurier's term, the 'revelation' is a continuation of the positivist error which consisted of saying that the ideas contained in a work of art were both divorced from and pre-existent to, the means by which they were expressed. This is certainly true, yet if positivism was clearly relevant to this error in the immediate context of the 1890's in France, the reasons for which Aurier prolongs it are to be found in Platonic theories of the sign and, in particular, of the inequality of the relationship of sign and Idea. Speaking of the objects in a painting, 'c'est-à-dire, abstraitement, les diverses combinaisons de lignes, de plans, d'ombres, de couleurs',<sup>44</sup>

Aurier wrote:

...les objets dans le tableau, n'ont aucune valeur en tant qu'objets...ils ne sont que des signes, des verbes, n'ayant en eux-mêmes nulle autre importance.

(G.-A. Aurier: 'Le symbolisme...', p.162).

This philosophy of the sign, in which 'le signe, pour indispensable qu'il soit n'est-rien en lui-même'(ibid.,p.160) and in which 'l'idée seule est tout'(ibid.), relegated pictorial values to the status of Platonic appearances. The relevance of Schuré's distinction between music and painting (cf.,supra,p.133) should now be clear. Like Schuré, Aurier included painting among the 'apparent forms' of life, the 'motives' of passions, the 'envelope' of nature. Though Aurier intended his neo-Platonist philosophy to underpin the distinction which he wished to make between Impressionism and Symbolism in painting, this theory of the artistic sign succeeded only in uniting both groups against him. We saw in the previous chapter (cf. pp. 71-6 ) the mistrust which it inspired in Maurice Denis. Pissarro was scathing:

Je t'envoie...une revue où il y a un article d'Aurier sur Gauguin. Tu verras combien ce littérateur raisonne sur une pointe d'aiguille. A l'écouter, à la rigueur il n'est pas nécessaire de dessiner ou peindre pour faire de l'art, les idées suffisent, indiquées par quelques signes - Mais il me semble que l'art n'est pas autre chose, seulement 'ces quelques signes' doivent être plus ou moins dessinées.

(C. Pissarro: letter to L. Pissarro in: Lettres à son fils Lucien (ed. J. Rewald), Paris, Albin Michel, 1950, pp.233-4).

Thus, as far as Aurier was concerned, Gauguin had had the revelation of 'la farouche bête primordiale domptée par les philtres enchanteurs de la Chimère'<sup>45</sup> and had decked it out in the necessary plastic form. The painter's task had been simplified by the 'unconditional' links

which science was in the process of establishing between lines, colours and emotional states.<sup>46</sup>

In order to ward off literary attempts to impose upon painting verbal patterns of signification which were themselves defective, Gauguin, Redon and the Nabis frequently resorted to the concept of the 'musicality' of painting. In the interview with Tardieu in L'Echo de Paris, Gauguin described his work in the following way:

C'est de la musique si vous voulez! J'obtiens par des arrangements de lignes et de couleurs, avec le prétexte d'un sujet quelconque emprunté à la vie ou à la nature, des symphonies, des harmonies, ne représentant rien d'absolument réel au sens vulgaire du mot, n'exprimant directement aucune idée, mais qui doivent faire penser comme la musique fait penser, sans le secours des idées ou des images simplement par des affinités mystérieuses qui sont entre nos cerveaux, et tels arrangements de couleurs et de lignes.

(E. Tardieu: 'La peinture et les peintres', p.2).

In the same way, Redon wrote that 'cet art suggestif est tout entier dans l'art excitateur de la musique'.<sup>47</sup> Similar remarks might be quoted from any of the Nabis. They rarely admitted in public to having much in common with the symbolist poets but an infatuation with music was an exception. Poets and painters rivalled one another in giving musical titles to their work and in describing it with musical terminology. Painting's musical phase had arrived, thought Gauguin and Whistler's 'Symphonies', Denis' executions for the music of Debussy and the continuous stream of Wagner-inspired studies (of which those of Fantin-Latour were the most famous during the 1890's<sup>48</sup>) were there to prove it. It is the culmination of a trend in comparative aesthetics in nineteenth-century France to which Delacroix,

above all, had given authority. None of the symbolist painters had his knowledge of music but, like him, they found in music's non-discursive function an ally in their defence of pictorial values. Just as music meant to them experience-in-musical-form to which textual commentaries remained extraneous, so painting meant experience-in-pictorial-form, that is, an experience which might not be separated from a spatial arrangement of lines and colours without losing what was essential to both. In his Cahier pour Aline, Gauguin gave a long account of 'Manao tupapau', in which we read:

Récapitulons - Partie musicale - Lignes horizontales ondulantes - accords d'orange et de bleu reliés par des jaunes et des violets leurs dérivés - éclairés par étincelles verdâtres - Partie littéraire - L'esprit d'une vivante lié à l'esprit des Morts - La nuit et le jour.

(P. Gauguin: Cahier pour Aline (fac-similé du manuscrit original, présenté par S. Damiron), Paris, Société des Amis de la Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université de Paris, 1963).

It is clear from these remarks that the analogy with music was intended by Gauguin to mean that the formal values of painting might not be subordinated to the idea to be expressed. The symbolist painters would have been incapable of delving deeply into the ways in which a musician might vary melodic themes by stating them in different keys and chord progressions and of trying to establish whether this was related to the way in which a painter might treat the same linear motif in different colour combinations. Still less did they seek to establish specific analogies between the linear curves of an arabesque and the melodic lines of a musical composition, however intuitively certain they might have been that such

analogies had a basis in fact. It is true that the old question of whether there existed laws of colour harmony like those which had been laid down for musical harmony was given new impetus by Neo-Impressionism but it would be wrong, I am sure, to imagine the symbolist painters straining over possible mathematical ratios between light- and sound-waves or painting, the following morning, the picture which they had played on their lyre the night before:

...vous direz peut-être qu'en musique je suis un philistin, c'est vrai, j'ai toujours la manie de reporter la peinture à la musique que ne pouvant pas comprendre scientifiquement devions un peu compréhensible pour moi par les rapports que je mets ces deux arts entre eux.

(P. Gauguin: letter to W. Molard, in: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.304).

Just as the painters resorted to the term, 'musicalité', in order to stress their sense of painting's formal values, the poets did so in much the same way in their own art to mean, variously, vagueness of meaning, the search for certain rhythmic effects, a preference for indirect over direct reference or simply the expressiveness of poetical language in general, that is, qualities not strictly musical at all.<sup>49</sup> No doubt many of the thorny technical problems which arose in the course of discussions between poets and painters on the relationships between their respective art-forms were resolved by a shared withdrawal behind musical analogies, yet such is the variety of individual response to music between, say, Baudelaire and Ghil, that it is difficult to know exactly what such analogies meant to each artist. Wagner of course dominated their musical tastes<sup>50</sup> but since the pilgrimage to Bayreuth was accomplished more frequently in the imagination of the Sym-

bolists than in reality,<sup>51</sup> it becomes important to establish the sort of music which was being passed off as Wagnerian to the Paris public. Here, Gustave Kahn gives us a good idea:

Je sais bien que la situation est difficile entre les Wagnériens qui, forts de leur principe que l'oeuvre de Wagner est scénique, le veulent voir au théâtre ou pas du tout, entre les poètes et les écrivains qui en veulent à tout prix, n'importe comment, n'importe où et l'accepteraient réduit pour n'importe quel instrument, et le public qui fort peu soucieux d'art intégral voudrait trouver aux actes dépecés la sensation qu'il éprouverait à des auditions d'un Meyerbeer plus neuf.

(G. Kahn: 'Chronique', La Revue indépendante, Tome 6, n°15, Janvier 1888, p.139).

The poets' plea for Wagner at any time and in any form may, I agree, be seen as proof of enthusiasm but it betrays a limited awareness of his intentions as that purist among Wagnerians, Wyzéwa, was soon to point out. Anything at all was what they wanted and anything at all was exactly what they were getting, he complained in the columns of the same review.<sup>52</sup> His view that 'Wagner nous est aujourd'hui parfaitement caché par le fantôme grotesque à nous offert sous ce nom' (ibid.) does not alone demolish the remarks made by the symbolist poets concerning musical influences upon their poetry, for full appreciation is not a necessary pre-condition of influence. Nevertheless, it does require us to take them less at their face value. More important is to establish how they heard what they heard and, here again, the range of possibilities is wide. On the one hand, we have Valéry's recollections of Wagner's impact upon this period:

Parmi tous les modes de l'expression et de l'excitation, il en est un qui s'impose avec une puissance démesurée: il domine, il déprécie tous les autres, il agit sur tout

notre univers nerveux, le surexcite, le pénètre, le soumet aux fluctuations les plus capricieuses, le calme, le brise, lui prodigue les surprises, les caresses, les illuminations et les orages; il est maître de nos durées, de nos frémissements, de nos pensées: cette puissance est Musique, et il se trouve que la plus puissante des musiques est souveraine au moment même que notre jeune symboliste à l'état naissant s'engage dans sa destinée: il s'enivre de la musique de Wagner.

(P. Valéry: 'Existence du symbolisme' in: Oeuvres (édition établie par J. Hytier), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1957, Tome I, pp.698-9).

On the other, we have Renoir's:

J'ai beaucoup aimé Wagner. Je m'étais laissé prendre à cette espèce de fluide passionné que je trouvais dans sa musique; mais, un jour, un ami m'a conduit à Bayreuth, et dois-je dire que je m'y suis royalement rasé? Les cris de walkyries, c'est très bien pour commencer, mais si cela doit durer six heures de suite, c'est à devenir fou.

(A. Renoir in: A. Vollard: La Vie et l'oeuvre de Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Paris, A. Vollard, 1919, p.112).

While paying tribute to the emotional force of Wagner's music, both Valéry and Mallarmé considered it more of a rival than of an ally to poetry and sought to develop poetic means along the lines mentioned above (cf.p.148) so as to attain an equal degree of expression. They sought to reinforce the 'musical' as opposed to the narrative element of poetry rather than being influenced in a more precise way by music. No doubt others were more interested in Wagner's manipulation of mythology and allegory.<sup>53</sup> For others, Wagnerism was no more than a literary fashion, a form of cultural elitism.<sup>54</sup>

Remarks such as those by Valéry on the status of music in symbolist circles have introduced into the history of the literary movement an important source of confusion.



It would be true to say that one of the most firmly-established elements of this history is that which consists of saying that while the literary Romantics and, after them, the Parnassians - the first by a taste for images of colour, the second, for images of a sharply-delineated, visual quality - wrote poetry which might loosely be called 'pictorial', the Symbolists sought their effects in the domain of music. Brunetière was the first historian to see in this distinction the theoretical basis of the new poetry:

Nous sommes aujourd'hui à la veille d'une transformation nouvelle, et l'on dirait qu'après s'être approprié les moyens de la peinture, jusqu'à les posséder aussi bien ou mieux que les peintres eux-mêmes, la littérature veuille s'emparer maintenant de ceux de la musique.

(F. Brunetière: 'Symbolistes et décadents', Revue des deux mondes, LVIII<sup>e</sup> année, 3<sup>e</sup> pér., Tome XC, 1<sup>er</sup> novembre 1888, p.220).

Similarly, Maublanc distinguished the poetry of the Symbolists from that of the Romantics and Parnassians by saying that 'la poésie, qui inclinait vers l'éloquence oratoire avec les romantiques, vers les arts plastiques du Parnasse, s'est ressouvenue qu'elle était aussi et avant tout un chant'.<sup>55</sup> The opposition between music and painting is, however, a false one, for there is no logical reason why a strong attraction to music must entail a proportional disaffection for pictorial values; on the contrary, the former may deepen the approach to the latter, as Wyzewa's theories of Wagnerian painting have already shown. It is thus no coincidence that the same Maublanc could write of Monet's paintings:

Ce sont comme de grands poèmes, et là encore le réalisme, la contemplation minutieuse de la réalité, touche à l'idéalisme et au rêve lyrique par la splendeur du thème choisi, par l'orchestration des frissons de la clarté,

par le parti pris symphonique des couleurs.

(C. Mauclair: L'Impressionnisme, son histoire, son esthétique, ses maîtres, Paris, Librairie de l'art ancien et moderne, 1904, p.74).

The taste for music does not imply an end to the tradition of pictorial reference and analogy, for the poets not surprisingly tended to bring the same approach to both music and painting. Those poets whose love of Wagner's music centred upon its emotional impact would generally have one approach to painting, those the coagulation of musical fragments into verbal references through the leit-motif another, those the manipulation of allegory, another still. The music/painting dichotomy has for too long obscured the true extent of the poets' interest in the visual arts. They turned to both arts in search of answers to the same questions: If art was not a copy of nature, what should be its aim? What and how should art signify?

Let us briefly consider one reply to to these questions, one quite typical of the years which we are studying. It is from André Fontainas, one of that legion of minor poets whose poetry and criticism provide the 'local colour' of literary Symbolism:

...les abstractions ne se communiquent pas par des images concrètes si d'abord, dans le rêve même de l'artiste, elles n'ont pris corps en quelque matérielle allégorie qui, vivante, les signifie. C'est la valeur du haut exemple que nous donne par son art Puvis de Chavannes. Pour figurer un idéal philosophique, il concevait d'harmonieux groupements dont les attitudes nous savaient imposer un rêve analogue au sien. Dans le large panneau que M. Gauguin expose, rien, et pas même les deux souples et pensives figures qui y passent tranquilles et si belles, ou l'évocation habile d'une idole mystérieuse, ne nous révélerait le sens de l'allégorie, s'il n'avait pris soin d'

écrire dans un coin au haut de la toile: 'D'où venons-nous? que sommes-nous? où allons-nous?'

(A. Fontainas: 'Art moderne', Mercure de France, Tome 29, n°109, Janvier 1899, p.238).

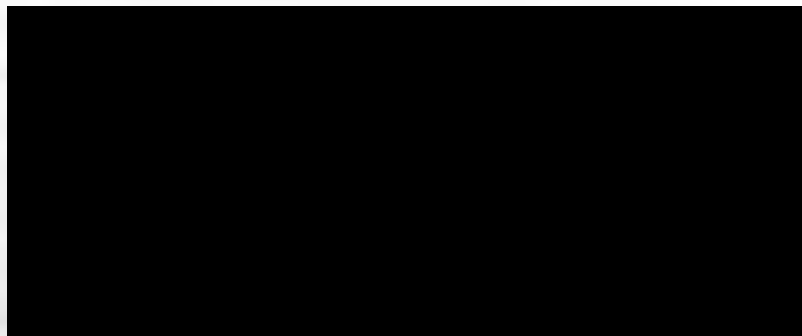
The painting under discussion here, 'D'où venons-nous...' is generally considered to be Gauguin's spiritual testament.<sup>56</sup> Of its genesis, the painter left no less than four major accounts, in which he explained how he set about realizing a formal equivalent of the problem of the origins and purpose of human destiny.<sup>57</sup> He organized in the painting a frieze-like disposition of arabesques in planes parallel to the canvas and a sombre colour harmony resulting from the background of blue and Veronese green and its contrast with the orange figures. He invested this structure with the shapes of visible objects, themselves taken from religious mythology. The central figure is a Tahitian Adam, plucking fruit from a tree, thereby setting in motion the figures disposed in a semi-circle on either side of him and, with them, the problem which is the painting's subject. All of the lines in the painting seem to relate to those formed by Adam's upraised arms, to turn upon their central axis. The resulting impression of circularity was no doubt intended by Gauguin to reinforce the timeless quality of the symbol. In thematic, figurative and formal terms, the painting completes the philosophical cycle begun by 'Vision après le sermon': In a letter to de Monfreid in February 1898, the painter wrote:

J'ai terminé un ouvrage philosophique sur ce thème comparé à l'Evangile: je crois que c'est bien.

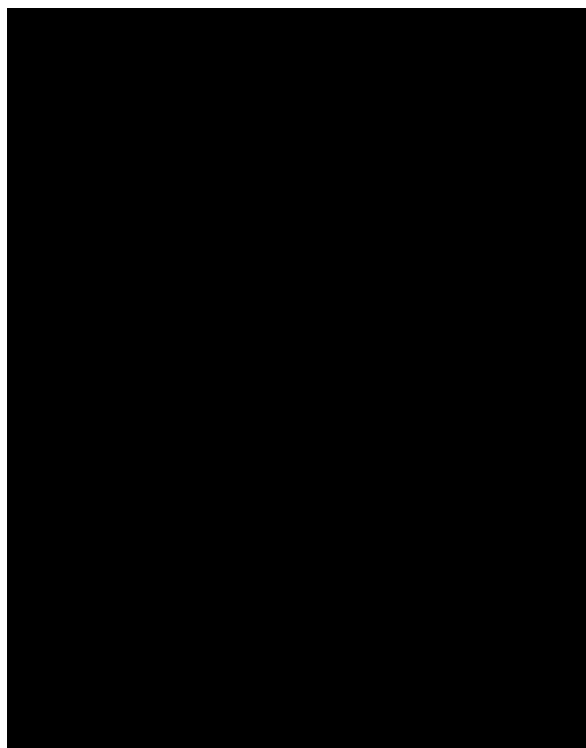
(P.Gauguin in: Lettres de Paul Gauguin..., p.92).



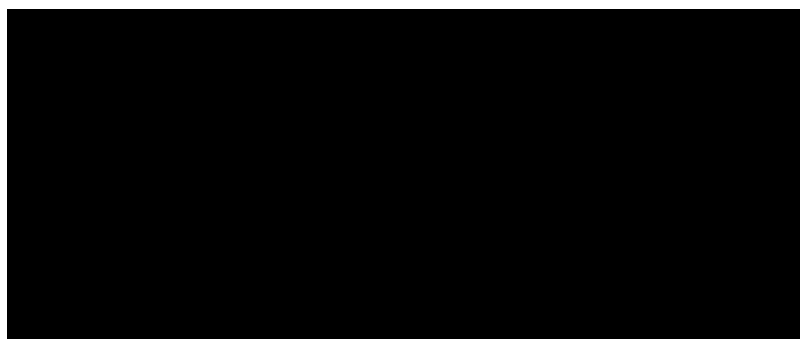
P. Puvis de Chavannes: 'Sainte Geneviève ravitaillant Paris', 1897-1898, fresque, Panthéon, Paris. [Detail. The central panel of three, separated by pilasters.]



P. Gauguin: 'D'où venons-nous? que sommes-nous? où allons-nous?', 1897, 139 X 375 cm., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Mass.), U.S.A.



P. Puvis de Chavannes: 'Sainte Geneviève ravitaillant Paris', 1897-1898, fresque, Panthéon, Paris. [Detail. The central panel of three, separated by pilasters.]



P. Gauguin: 'D'où venons-nous? que sommes-nous? où allons-nous?', 1897, 139 X 375 cm., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Mass.), U.S.A.

The questions raised by Fontainas' review of the painting persuaded Gauguin to set aside his rule of never replying to critics, whether hostile or friendly. By comparing him unfavourably with Puvis de Chavannes, Fontainas touched upon Gauguin's highly-developed sense of his own greatness at precisely that point at which Gauguin felt this greatness to lie, namely, his superiority over Puvis de Chavannes:

Puvis explique son idée, oui, mais il ne la peint pas... Puvis intitulera un tableau 'Pureté' et pour l'expliquer peindra une jeune vierge avec un lys à la main - Symbole connu; donc on comprend. Gauguin au titre 'Pureté' peindra un paysage aux eaux limpides; aucune souillure de l'homme civilisé, peut-être un personnage.

Sans rentrer dans des détails il y a tout un monde entre Puvis et moi.

(P. Gauguin: letter to C. Morice, July 1901, in: Lettres... à sa femme..., pp.300-1).

The Gauguin-Puvis argument has far-reaching implications for literary Symbolism, for it brings to the surface the distinction which the poets wished to make between symbol and allegory. It requires a genuine effort on the part of the modern historian and critic to appreciate the depth of admiration felt for Puvis de Chavannes by symbolist poets and painters alike. Denis later spoke for the Nabis and for the painters of the Rose+ Croix when, of Puvis, he remarked that 'on ne dira jamais assez quelle fut l'énorme influence sur la fin du XIXe siècle'.<sup>58</sup> In his essay on Symbolism to which I referred earlier (cf. p.150), Valéry wrote that 'l'esthétique les divisait' (p.694) but admiration for Puvis leads one to qualify the remark. 'Puvis était le grand peintre qui nous divisait le moins', wrote Kahn.<sup>59</sup> The poets considered

'Le Pauvre pêcheur' as one of the major achievements of pictorial Symbolism, a timeless symbol of desolate and impoverished humanity, while the Nabis found in Puvis' work formal aims which echoed their own, particularly in his tendency to simplification and in the decorative effect created by his disposition of the human form and his use of colour. With the aid of these formal devices, Puvis sought to renew traditional allegories by bathing them in a thinly-spread thematic mood. The allegory would permit intellectual recognition, the mood would release the imagination from the restrictions which this recognition might otherwise impose. Interplay between both would create in the spectator a determinate suggestiveness, the allegory orientating his receptivity along a precise path, the mood enlarging the network of thematic associations contained in the allegory so as to give it a universal resonance. All of the poets' distinctions between allegory and symbol renew this traditional view of the interplay of receptivity and activity.<sup>60</sup> All shared the view that while allegory was a willed, didactic, intellectual scheme imposed upon the imagination with the effect of restricting its activity, the symbol was an intuitively-perceived flowering of the generic within the individual phenomenon of experience.<sup>61</sup>

Gauguin considered the attempts by Puvis to rejuvenate traditional allegory as doomed to failure, for the aesthetic advantages of a thematic mood evoked by line and colours could not counterbalance, in his view, the disadvantages which resulted from retaining a lifeless figurative language.

Though he would not have considered allegory as incompatible with great art, Gauguin felt that the sheer familiarity of Puvis' images, the weight of cultural associations which they inevitably invoked, reduced them to a sort of heraldic code. No thematic mood could compensate for the emotional impact lost in this process and the fact that Fontainas praised Puvis on the grounds that the abstract idea was present, a priori, in the pictorial subject, only confirmed, as far as Gauguin was concerned, Puvis' lack of originality.

The Fontainas article is a good example of the way in which Aurier's theory of the sign informs art criticism during the final decade of the nineteenth century in France. Aurier had described Gauguin as a 'génial savant, un suprême formuleur qui sait écrire les Idées à la façon d'un mathématicien',<sup>62</sup> as an 'algébriste des Idées'(ibid.) and his painting as 'une merveilleuse équation'(ibid.) and as 'une page d'écriture idéographique'(ibid.). Fontainas agreed with this definition of painting and the great painter but denied that Gauguin fulfilled these requirements. Since the programmatic text was not obvious, he accused Gauguin of obscurity. The parallel with Mallarmé is striking. One has only to think of the 'interpretations' of his poetry which even his supporters renewed with every issue of their periodicals. The following reference to Mallarmé was a common one during the 1890's:

C'est chez ce poète en effet qu'on trouverait les exemples les plus curieux de l'allusion employée comme procédé poétique: une simple glose dissiperait ses obscurités les plus absconces, car l'allusion devient fort claire dès qu'on a la clé.

(Saint-Antoine: 'Qu'est-ce que le symbolisme', L'Ermitage, Tome 8, n°6, Juin 1894, p.333).

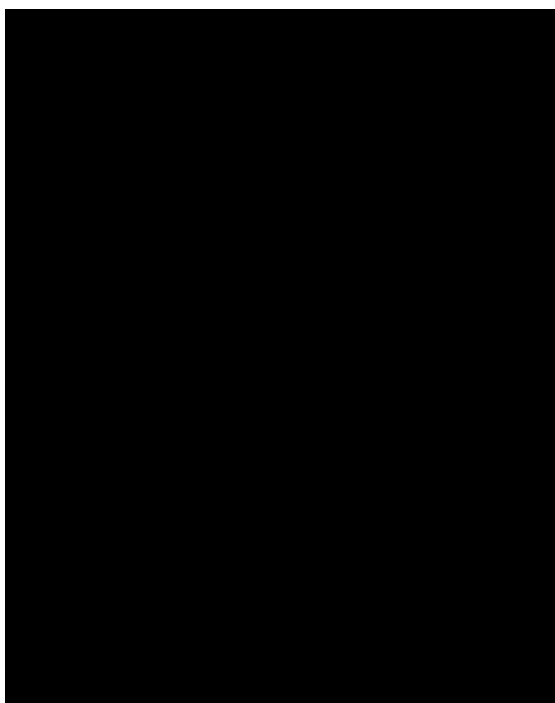


Aurier's criticism and Puvis' painting combine to direct much of the painting produced for the salons of the Rose+Croix. The work of Alexandre Séon, a minor symbolist painter, offers a fine example. A close friend of Seurat, Séon evolved his theories of colour and linear symbolism from his discussions with the Neo-Impressionist, while his restrained technique, with its muted and pale colours, was taken from that of Puvis, whom Séon greatly admired. To denote the spatial recession considered conducive to literary flights of the imagination, Séon reduced the size of his brush-stroke for the background of his painting.<sup>63</sup> One of the most admired of his paintings among the poets was 'Jeanne-d'Arc':

Ayant conçu une Jeanne-d'Arc archétype de la voyante en même temps que symbole de la pureté virginale, Séon lui a donné l'attitude d'une hypnotisée en extase (paupières en spasme, poings crispés) et l'a vêtue d'un blanc délicat, tel un lis.

(A. Germain: 'Le symbolisme des teintes', Moniteur des arts, 36e année, n°2009, 1er avril 1892, p.124).

Germain's identification of virginity, the lily and the colour white comes as an unwitting reminder of Gauguin's criticism of Puvis' (fictional) painting, 'Pureté'. Eyelids in spasm, clenched fists and lilies are but three examples of esoteric archetypes which fill the paintings of Péladan's salons. It is sufficient to remember the quantities of 'Chiméras' which are to be found there. Two or three elements from this esoteric arsenal were enough to impose this dimension upon the image. The mystical reading could then be extended to each element in a perfectly circular procedure. That this process contained nothing creative in the sense that



A. Séon: 'Le Désespoir de la chimère', 1890, 65 X 53 cm., Flamand-Charbonnier Collection, Paris.

(A. Germain: 'Le Désespoir de la chimère'

Pour Alexandre Séon.

..Languide, tabide, dolente, elle se lamente la Chimère délaissée.  
Et à sa douleur prend part la matière, et la nature même en est affectée, ces blocs étranges de feldspath alvéolant des améthystes, il semble qu'un sanglot les ait tuméfiés. Et mélancolisant ce décor déjà triste, un ciel qui n'est plus fluorine et n'est pas encore hyalin, ciel d'arrière-saison propre à la dysthymie, et un soleil, oh! ce soleil, - tel un oierge qui meurt, - dans une mer déjà dormante, mirant son déclin, ce soleil. Déjà l'ombreuse nuit paraît qui chape l'âme de terreur, et son cortège de silences versant du feu sur les souffrances, pas même le vol d'un oiseau! - Combien seule en sa solitude. Et songeant au demain pareil...  
languide, tabide, dolente, elle se lamente la Chimère délaissée  
Elle pleure...

La Plume. Tome 2, n°75, 1er juin 1892, p.244).



A. Séon: 'Le Désespoir de la chimère', 1890, 65 X 53 cm., Flamand-Charbonnier Collection, Paris.

(A. Germain: 'Le Désespoir de la chimère'

Pour Alexandre Séon.

..Languide, tabide, dolente, elle se lamente la Chimère délaissée.

Et à sa douleur prend part la matière, et la nature même en est affectée, ces blocs étranges de feldspath alvéolant des améthystes, il semble qu'un sanglot les ait tuméfiés. Et mélancolisant ce décor déjà triste, un ciel qui n'est plus fluorine et n'est pas encore hyalin, ciel d'arrière-saison propre à la dysthémie, et un soleil, oh! ce soleil, - tel un cierge qui meurt, - dans une mer déjà dormante, mirant son déclin, ce soleil. Déjà l'ombreuse nuit paraît qui chape l'âme de terreur, et son cortège de silences versant du feu sur les souffrances, pas même le vol d'un oiseau! - Combien seule en sa solitude. Et songeant au demain pareil...

languide, tabide, dolente, elle se lamente la Chimère délaissée  
Elle pleure...

La Plume. Tome 2, n°75, 1er juin 1892, p.244).

subject and formal values were dictated by the choice of the archetypal Idea was the essence of Gauguin's reply to Fontainas. The poet evidently got the point, for in a letter written in August 1899, Gauguin remarked:

Vous me faites le plaisir, un grand plaisir, en avouant que vous aviez cru à tort que mes compositions comme celles de Puvis de Chavannes portaient d'une idée, à priori abstraite que je cherchais à vivifier par une représentation plastique. [Gauguin's italics].

(P. Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.293).

Gauguin's first letter to Fontainas, written five months before, contains an important discussion of the problem of late nineteenth-century interpretations of the relationship between pictorial form and verbal equivalents. Of the idol, situated in the upper-left of 'D'où venons-nous...?', the painter explained:

...l'idole est là non comme une explication littéraire, mais comme une statue, moins statue peut-être que les figures animales; moins animale aussi, faisant corps dans mon rêve, devant ma case avec la nature entière, régnant en notre âme primitive, consolation imaginaire de nos souffrances en ce qu'elles comportent de vague et d'incompris devant le mystère de notre origine et notre avenir.

Et tout cela chante douloureusement en mon âme et mon décor, en peignant et rêvant à la fois, sans allégorie saisissable à ma portée - manque d'éducation littéraire peut-être.

Au réveil, mon œuvre terminée, je me dis, je dis: d'où venons-nous, que sommes-nous? où allons-nous? Réflexion qui ne fait plus partie de la toile, mais alors en langage parlé tout à fait à part sur la muraille qui encadre, non un titre mais une signature.

Voyez-vous j'ai beau comprendre la valeur des mots - abstrait ou concret - dans le dictionnaire, je ne les saisis plus en peinture. [Gauguin's italics].

(ibid., pp.288-9).

Between the object in the world and the form distilled from it,

between the object of myth and its links to the source of man's emotional life, between the objective and the subjective, the one creating and correcting the other, Gauguin went back and forth until an emotional equivalent, a symbol, of his experience of reality had been imprisoned within a natural spectacle. The idea contained in the painting's title was the outcome of this process and not its point of departure. The title constituted a signature, or what Baudelaire would have called a translation. Redon had had the same problem in mind when he remarked of his painting that 'le titre n'y est justifié que lorsqu'il est vague, indéterminé, et visant même à l'équivoque'.<sup>64</sup> The cult of mystery, the refusal to explain, the preference for images which remained imprecise were essentially what the poets meant by a symbolist poetic. They admired painters in whom they understood an effort to open out pictorial space onto a transcendental world of rhythms and reflections which was thought to be the true refuge of man and which, since it lay beyond the reach of rational mind, could be suggested only by indeterminate images. The allegorical approach implicit in Aurier's Platonic theory of the sign potentially contradicted this programme, with the result that their pictorial preferences went to those painters whose subjects and style, in one way or another, seemed to them to enlarge the emotional response to, and the intellectual implications of, traditional allegory. Gauguin's art confronted them with their compromise and, following his exhibition, in November-December 1893, of the Tahiti paintings, they rejected him viciously for it. Redon's art appealed more, though,

even here, some poets felt that his imagery contained an excessively personal fantasy which prevented the generalization of its significance, that it was too eccentric or just downright ugly.<sup>65</sup> Between 1886 and 1900, for the majority of poets who could not be Baudelaire and who did not want to be Ghil, the art of Puvis de Chavannes stilled all differences.

The true dimension of the poets' admiration for Puvis is to be found in Schuré's diagnosis of the 'mal du siècle' with which I opened this chapter. Here was an art in which to reconcile the scientific and religious needs of man, in which contemporary theories of emotional responses to lines and colours supported a timeless subject-matter and in which positivist and mystical theories of the pictorial sign shared an allegorization of formal values.<sup>66</sup> In 1886, a model for this approach to form was already fully present in Wagnerian leit-motif, or, rather, in that over-literal form of it which they deduced from a loose reading of Baudelaire's pages on the musician. In the symbolist poets' search for a pictorial equivalent of this apparent passage from non-verbal to verbal forms of expression, synaesthetic correspondences between colours and the other senses, proclaimed by Baudelaire, confirmed by Rimbaud's sonnet and established by contemporary physiology, seemed made to measure. Gauguin's art proposed a more radical approach to formal values. No doubt he overestimated the extent to which an innate response to the emotional impact of coloured shapes would counterbalance the disadvantages, as far as the Parisian public of the 1890's was

concerned, of such a new treatment of pictorial form. No doubt he underestimated the extent to which this response is conditioned by the public's familiarity with the ways in which an artistic medium has been used in the past. Even so, his mystical interpretation of subject and form, his view that the mysterious activity of the pictorial sign was a symbol of the mystery of the universe and of divine creation was profoundly understood by Mallarmé, as the poet's famous remark during Gauguin's Tahiti exhibition proves (cf. *supra*, p. 97 ). It is no coincidence in this respect, that Alphonse Germain concluded his attacks upon the pictorial techniques of Gauguin and the Nabis by saying that 'c'est comme si, en littérature, on supprimait toute syntaxe sous prétexte de conserver aux images plus de naturel et de saveur'.<sup>67</sup> He was only underlining, albeit unwittingly, Mallarmé's relationship to the pictorial tradition from Manet to Gauguin. Thanks largely to Mallarmé, poets such as Kahn, Morice and Jarry would seek to develop, in different ways and to different degrees, the symbolic theory of artistic form. It is to the sort of poetry which an intimate knowledge of this pictorial tradition helped them to write which we must now turn. We shall begin with Mallarmé, for in this, as in any other problem of literary Symbolism, only he can give the subject its true credentials.

Notes to Chapter Three.

1. Ch. Morice: La Littérature de tout à l'heure, Paris, Perrin, 1889, p.203.
2. Adam inserted his article as a preface to G. Vanor's book, L'Art symboliste, Paris, Vanier, 1889, pp.5-12.
3. See C.E. Gauss: The Aesthetic Theories of French Artists from Realism to Surrealism, Baltimore, John Hopkins Paperbacks, 2nd. ed., 1970, pp.21-4 and J. Rewald: Post-Impressionism... pp.79-86.
4. The most important of their works were: Ch. Blanc: Grammaire des arts du dessin, Paris, Renouard, 1867 (7 editions between 1867 and 1897) and Grammaire des arts décoratifs, Paris, H. Loones, 1882 (4 editions between 1882 and 1895); Ch. Henry: Introduction à une esthétique scientifique, Paris, La Revue contemporaine, 1885; Le Cercle chromatique, Paris, C. Verdin, 1888 and Le Rapporteur esthétique, Paris, G. Séguin, 1888.
5. Schuré was not, of course, the only source of such ideas in the late 1880's in France. Twelve months before the appearance of Les Grands initiés, Papus had published his Traité élémentaire de science occulte, Paris, G. Carré, 1888. For a full account of esoteric theories in literary Symbolism, see A. Mercier: Les Sources ésotériques et occultes de la poésie symboliste (1870-1914). 1. Le Symbolisme français, Paris, Nizet, 1969 and G. Michaud: Message poétique... pp.205-10, 222-5 and 465-70.
6. See also Schuré, op.cit., pp.325-37.
7. Gauguin had clearly been interested in these theories for some time, for, in a letter, dated 14 January 1885, he wrote to Schufenecker:



Tous nos cinq sens arrivent directement au cerveau impressionnés par une infinité de choses et qu'aucune éducation ne peut détruire. J'en conclus qu'il y a des lignes nobles, menteuses, etc. la ligne droite donne l'infini, la courbe limite la création, sans compter la fatalité dans les nombres. Les chiffres 3 et 7 ont-ils été assez discutés? [Gauguin's italics].

(P. Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.45).

8. W. Andersen (Gauguin's Paradise..., p.60) sees phallic connotations in the women's bonnets:

The white hats of the women, with starched wings falling downward over the shoulders, seem to oppose the arched erect wings of the angel in another aspect of the passive-active allegory.

The phallic content, obviously present in other paintings, seems irrelevant to this one. As for the struggling figures, they may owe something to Hokusai. See Jaworska: Gauguin et l'école..., p.23.

9. In the above-quoted letter to Schuffenecker of January 1885, Gauguin compared Cézanne to Virgil:

Le Virgile qui a plusieurs sens et que l'on peut interpréter à volonté, la littérature de ses tableaux a un sens parabolique à deux fins; ses fonds sont aussi imaginatifs que réels. Pour résumer: quand on voit un tableau de lui, on s'écrie: 'Etrange!' Mais c'est un mystique, dessin de même. [Gauguin's italics].

(P. Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.46).

Meyer de Haan, a pupil of Gauguin's at Pont-Aven is known to have brought with him an enormous Bible which he used to read out to anyone within hearing distance (see Jaworska, op.cit., p.232). Also in Pont-Aven, Balzac's Seraphita was widely read (see J. Verkade: Le Tourment de Dieu, Paris, L. Rouart & J. Watelin, 1923, pp.107-8). Gauguin painted de Haan's portrait showing his pupil bent over two books, Paradise Lost and Sartor Resartus. The latter contains a chapter on the extrinsic and intrinsic meaning of the symbol which Gauguin must have known. See T. Carlyle: Sartor Resartus, London, Chapman & Hall, 1885, pp.148-53.

10. In a letter to Monet, in January 1891, Octave Mirbeau wrote of Gauguin:

Il était très tourmenté de savoir ce que vous pensez de son évolution, vers la complication de l'idée dans la simplification de la forme.

(O. Mirbeau in: Les Cahiers d'aujourd'hui, nouv. sér., 5e année, n°9, 1922, p.172).

11. In the above-quoted letter to Fontainas, Gauguin recalled an incident involving Puvis de Chavannes, saddened by one critic's attack upon 'Le Pauvre pêcheur'. To Puvis' question: 'mais qu'ont-ils donc à ne pas comprendre?', Gauguin replied:

'Et pour les autres il leur sera parlé en paraboles afin que voyant ils ne voient pas, et entendant ils n'entendent pas.'

12. See in this respect Andersen, op.cit., pp.29-30.

13. See E.H. Gombrich: 'The Paradox and the Transcendence of Language' in: Symbolic Images. Studies in the Art of the Renaissance, 2nd. ed., London, Phaidon, 1975, pp.168-70.

14. D.H. Fraser (Gauguin's 'Vision...', p.23) suggests a relationship between this device and Redon's graphic work, 'Pourquoi n'existerait-il pas un monde composé d'êtres invisibles, bizarres, fantastiques, embryonnaires?' (n°55 of the catalogue by A. Werner: The Graphic Works of Odilon Redon, New York, Dover Publications, 1969). This seems quite possible as the work in question was one of seven illustrations which Redon made for Edmond Picard's Le Juré, published in 1887.

15. See J. de Rotonchamps: Paul Gauguin, Paris, G. Crès, 1925, p.140.

16. Schuré, in Les Grandes légendes de France (Paris, Perrin, 1892, p.229), described Breton churches in the following way:

Et sous ces toits, dans le nef obscure, prient en files

serrées des femmes en robes noires, aux coiffes blanches  
et flottantes comme des ailes d'oiseaux.

17. For a study of the pictorial sign in the writings of the contemporary French Structuralists, see Appendix I, pp.363-72.

18. See A. Rimbaud: Oeuvres (édition établie par S. Bernard), Paris, Garnier, 1960, p.405. The most useful introduction to the enormous literature devoted to Rimbaud's poem is to be found in the work of Etienne: 'Le sonnet des voyelles', Revue de littérature comparée, Tome 19, n°2, Avril-Juin 1939, pp.235-61; 'La querelle du sonnet' in: Le Mythe de Rimbaud. Genèse du mythe 1869-1949, 2e édition revue et augmentée, Paris, Gallimard, 1968, pp.212-7 and Le Sonnet des voyelles. De l'audition colorée à la vision érotique, Paris, Gallimard, 1968. A good summary of critical reaction to the poem is also contained in: A. Rimbaud: Oeuvres complètes (édition établie, présentée et annotée par A. Adam), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1972, pp.898-903.

19. See A. Rimbaud: 'Délires II. Alchimie du verbe' in: Oeuvres complètes, p.106.

20. J.-J. Rousseau: 'Essai sur l'origine des langues' in: Projet concernant de nouveaux signes pour la musique, Geneva, 1781, pp. 209-325.

21. This charge was made by A.G. Lehmann (The Symbolist Aesthetic..., pp.137-8) who based his remark upon Baudelaire's allegedly having swallowed wholesale Poe's emotive theory of language.

22. In a letter to Liszt of 6 December 1856, Wagner expressed very similar remarks in relation to Siegfried:

Dieser Tage werde ich mit der ersten Scene fertig.  
Sonderbar! erst beim Komponiren geht mir das eigentliche  
Wesen meiner Dichtung auf: überall entdecken sich mir  
Geheimnisse, die mir selbst dahin noch verborgen blieben.

(Any day now I shall be finished with the first scene.

Strange! only during the compositional stage do I become aware of the essential nature of my poems; everywhere I discover mysteries which until then had remained hidden from me.)

(R. Wagner: Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt, 3e erweiterte Auflage in volkstümlicher Gestalt herausgegeben von E. Kloss, Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1910, II, S.138).

23. A.-G. Lehmann: The Symbolist Aesthetic..., pp.207-10).

24. Lehmann (The Symbolist Aesthetic...) writes that Wagner's view of music 'strengthened the conviction that Wagner was the apostle of Schopenhauer' (p.221). But from 1854, Wagner was the apostle of Schopenhauer. See, in this respect, J.M. Stein: Richard Wagner and the Synthesis of the Arts, Detroit, Wayne Univ. Press, 1960, pp. 113-17 and E. Sans: R. Wagner et la pensée schopenhaurienne, Paris, Klincksieck, 1969, pp.134-41.

25. Stein, op.cit., pp.160-1.

26. One must distinguish here between the revanchism of the bourgeoisie and the admiration on the part of the French intellectual avant-garde, for whom German military and intellectual prowess frequently went hand in hand. Aurier, for example, wrote a scathing attack upon the habit of the representatives of official art to consider the renown which this art enjoyed in Europe and the U.S.A. as a revenge for France's military defeat. See G.-A. Aurier: 'Revanche', Le Moderniste illustré, 1ère année, n°14, 27 juillet 1889, pp.106-7).

27. E. Schuré: Le Drame musical, 2 vol., Paris, Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1875. New, enlarged editions appeared in 1886 and 1895.

28. T. de Wyzéwa: 'Notes sur la peinture wagnérienne et le salon de 1886', Revue wagnérienne, Tome I, n°IV, 8 mai 1886, pp.100-13.

29. See A. Boime: The Academy and Painting in Nineteenth-Century France, London, Phaidon, 1970, p.9.

30. T.de Wyzéwa, op.cit., p.107.

31. This is what I. de Wyzéwa meant when she wrote of the article in question:

Cette article pose la base d'une esthétique 'wagnérienne' applicable à la littérature et à la peinture. C'est un renouvellement sous une forme neuve de l'ancienne confusion: 'ut pictura poesis'.

(I. de Wyzéwa: La Revue wagnérienne: Essai sur l'interprétation esthétique de Wagner en France, Paris, Perrin, 1934, p.110).

While recognizing the eighteenth-century elements in the theory, she does not do justice to her uncle's early understanding of the trend towards the emotional significance of pictorial form.

32. Compare Baudelaire's remarks in 'Richard Wagner...':

Ses mélodies sont en quelque sorte des personnifications d'idées; leur retour annonce celui des sentiments que les paroles qu'on prononce n'indiquent point explicitement. Baudelaire's italics.

(Ch.Baudelaire: Oeuvres complètes, p.1231).

33. E.H.Gombrich: Symbolic Images, pp.11-13.

34. L. Muhlfield: 'Sur la clarté', La Revue blanche, Tome 11, n°75, 15 juillet 1896, p.80.

35. In this respect, artistic language is no different from ordinary language for, as modern linguists frequently tell us:

...tout sujet adulte parlant une langue donnée est, à tout moment, capable d'émettre spontanément, ou de percevoir et de comprendre, un nombre indéfini de phrases que, pour la plupart, il n'a jamais prononcées ni entendues auparavant.

(N. Ruwet: Introduction à la grammaire générative, Paris, Plon, 1967, p.16).

36. G.-A. Aurier: 'Le symbolisme...', p.155. See also note 16 of this chapter.

37. The following assessment of Aurier's reputation in 1892 is close to the truth:

...sa mort causa à l'avant-garde des lettres un deuil profond!...Poète, romancier, esthéticien, nulle réputation ne le dépasse. Partout, cénacles et ateliers, on le considère comme le critique de l'avenir.

(M. Coulon: Une Minute de l'heure symboliste. Albert Aurier, Paris, Mercur de France, 1921, p.6).

It is rather ironic that the wrticles on Gauguin for which Aurier is most remembered now were those which least convinced the Nabis and wrtters such as Morice, Gourmont and Kahn.

38. G.-A. Aurier: 'Les symbolistes', p.480.

39. Ch.Henry: Introduction à une esthétique... p.5.

40. See A. Chastel: 'Une source oubliée de Seurat' in: Mélanges Brière, Archives de l'art français, Tome XXII, 1950-57, pp.400-7. Chastel does not, however, appear to be aware of the reference to Superville by Aurier.

41. G.-A. Aurier: 'Préface pour un livre de critique d'art', Mercur de France, Tome 6, n°36, Décembre 1892, p.332.

42. G.-A. Aurier: 'Le symbolisme...', p.160.

43. A.G. Lehmann: The Symbolist Aesthetic... p.286.

44. G.-A. Aurier: 'Les symbolistes', p.480.

45. G.-A. Aurier: 'Le symbolisme...', p.156.

46. That Aurier's account was understood in this way is clear from

the following:

Tout objet fût-ce le plus infime...peut être considéré de deux façons; en tant que chose réelle, ayant sa valeur en soi, ou en tant que représentation d'une pensée...n'ayant de valeur que comme image, comme symbole, comme signe...

(L. Dumur: 'G.-Albert Aurier et l'évolution idéaliste', Mercur de France, Tome 8, n°44, Août 1893, p.292).

47. O. Redon: A Soi-même, p.28.

48. See, in this respect, appendix IV of L. Guichard: La Musique et les lettres en France au temps du wagnérisme, Paris, P.U.F., 1963, pp.256-8.

49. See Lehmann: The Symbolist Aesthetic..., p.174. The dangers involved in attaching greater importance to similarities in theoretical statements than to those in art-structures are well illustrated by E. Lockspeiser's book, Music and Painting. A Study in Comparative Ideas from Turner to Schoenberg, London, Cassell, 1973.

50. Not surprisingly, Wagner's preferences among musicians became those of the symbolist poets. Beethoven is the most obvious case in point. See Ch. Morice: La Littérature..., p.281.

51. C. Mauclair, in: L'Art en silence (Paris, Société d'Editions littéraires et artistiques, 1901), wrote that 'cinq cents personnes peut-être se retrouvaient à Bayreuth ou aux concerts Lamoureux' (p.173). The figure is not very helpful, since it is not clear to whom Mauclair is referring. It is interesting to note, however, that Mauclair considered the concerts at Paris and Bayreuth to be the same thing.

52. Congratulating the eminent Wagnerian specialist, H.S. Chamberlain for a particularly severe criticism of a French translation of Walküre, Wyzéwa added:

Il y a parfaitement démontré, et presque vers par vers, l' inanité de cette prétendue traduction, qui fausse le sens des paroles, fausse le rapport des paroles à la musique, et stupéfait encore par des formules d'une syntaxe et d'une poésie tout folichonnes. Mais je sais gré surtout à M. Chamberlain d'avoir dit... combien il est désastreux, contraire à l'intention de Wagner, et contraire à toute raison, de nous donner, comme on le fait dans les concerts, des fragments de drames wagnériens.

(T. de Wyzéwa: 'Les livres', La Revue indépendante, Tome 5, n°14, Décembre 1887, p.324).

53. This is the conclusion (correct, in my view) of F.W.J. Hemmings in: Culture and Society in France, 1848-1898, London, Batsford, 1971, p.225.

54. One symbolist poet described this very well:

Il fallait entendre le vrai snob vous dire: 'Je vais à Baireit' et prononcer 'Ouagn'eur'. C'était pour lui un acte de foi. Inutile de dire qu'il ne savait pas un mot d'allemand et ne songeait pas à l'apprendre. Souvent il ignorait aussi la musique... il s'assoupissait régulièrement pendant le spectacle, attendant que le rideau fut fermé pour se pâmer de plaisir.

(H. Rebell: 'Snobs et snobinettes de sport' in: Anonyme: Figures de Paris, Paris, Floury, 1901, p.4).

55. C. Mauclair: L'Art en silence, p.195.

56. See Andersen, op.cit., pp.244-6 and 262-3 and Rookmaaker: Gauguin..., pp.230-7. Wildenstein ('L'idéologie et l'esthétique...') showed the series of past images which the painter incorporated into the work. The question of the origin and purpose of human destiny had been pressing itself upon Gauguin's mind with increasing urgency from 1896. Rookmaaker (op.cit., p.232) is, I feel, quite correct in suggesting that the painter's reading of Balzac's Séraphita and Carlyle's Sartor Resartus contributed to this pre-occupation.



57. See P. Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., pp.288-9,293, 301-2 and Lettres de Paul Gauguin..., pp.91-2.

58. M. Denis: 'L'époque du symbolisme', p.166.

59. G. Kahn: Silhouettes littéraires, Paris, Editions Montaigne, 1925, p.112.

60. See M. Podro('The Painters' Analogies...', p.102) for a discussion of this problem in Schiller.

61. The following distinction was a widely-held one in symbolist circles:

Mais je voudrais appeler allégorie l'oeuvre de l'esprit humain où l'analogie est artificielle et extrinsèque, et j'appellerai symbole celle où l'analogie apparaît naturelle et intrinsèque.

L'allégorie serait la représentation explicite ou analytique, par une image, d'une idée abstraite PRECONCUE; elle serait aussi la représentation convenue - et par cela même explicite - de cette idée....

Au contraire le symbole suppose la RECHERCHE INTUITIVE des divers éléments idéaux épars dans les Formes.

[Mockel's capitals and italics]

(A. Mockel: Propos de littérature, p.25).

62. G.-A. Aurier: 'Le symbolisme...', p.163.

63. See the notes to this painting by E.-C. Flamand in the catalogue of the exhibition, French Symbolist Painters, held in the Hayward Gallery, London (7 June -23 July 1972) and the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (9 August-17 September 1972). Séon's painting was exhibit n°322.

64. O. Redon: A soi-même, p.28.

65. Kahn was particularly severe. Of Redon's interpretation of Wagner's Brünnhilde, he wrote:

Le rêve de beauté de Wagner de la vierge attendrie par

la douleur devait-il aboutir à cette laideur? Bref, nous répétons que M. Redon est un intelligent artiste, mais nous lui refusons le droit d'ériger la laideur en principe.

(G. Kahn: L'exposition des 33, La Revue indépendante, Tome 6, n°15, Janvier 1888, p.151).

while the art critic of L'Ermitage expressed similar sentiments:

...son moyen-âge de Salpêtrière ne plaira qu'aux critiques d'art littérateurs, les rhétoriciens du métier  
...que de forces perdues!

(R. Bouyer: 'Expositions d'Odilon Redon, Vignon...etc.', L'Ermitage, Tome 8, n°5, Mai 1894, p.309).

66. A fine example of this is offered by the writings of Mauclair. Puvis de Chavannes was, for him, the model of what he called 'intellectual painting', that is, one in which 'les objets sont les caractères hiéroglyphiques où s'inscrit...l'idée pure' (C. Mauclair: 'Notes sur l'idée pure', Mercure de France, Tome 6, n°33, Septembre 1892, p.43). Thus, Puvis' lily was not the copy of a real lily but the symbol of an ideal one; a plagiarism of Aurier, in other words. The fact that identical theories of the plastic sign enabled one critic (Aurier) to praise Gauguin and another (Mauclair) to attack him only serves to underline the extent to which the sign was subordinated to the signified in both cases.

67. A. Germain: 'Théorie des déformateurs: exposé et réfutation', La Plume, Tome 2, n°57, 1er septembre 1891, p.289).

Chapter Four. Mallarmé: The Beginning and End of the Question.<sup>+</sup>

Open air: - that is the beginning and end of the question we are now studying.

(S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists and Edouard Manet', The Art Monthly Review, Vol.I, n°9, 30 September 1876, p.119).

Around the life and work of Stéphane Mallarmé, there are anecdotes which seem to have taken on, through the years, a note of allegory. One of the best-known of these recounts a conversation between the poet and Edgar Degas, which took place one evening at the home of Berthe Morisot. Degas, in addition to being the impressionist painter whom we know, also wrote sonnets and, like many artists who try their hand at a second art-form, he took his sonnets very seriously. During dinner, he complained to Mallarmé about the difficulty of writing poetry - a problem about which Mallarmé knew more than most:

Quel métier!...j'ai perdu toute ma journée sur un sacré sonnet, sans avancer d'un pas...Et cependant, ce ne sont pas les idées qui me manquent...J'en suis plein...J'en ai trop...

to which Mallarmé, in the gentle tones of the teacher he always was, replied:

Mais, Degas, ce n'est point avec des idées que l'on fait des vers...C'est avec des mots. [Valéry's italics].

We are indebted for this anecdote to Paul Valéry, who recounts it in Degas, danse, dessin.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, he does not tell us what Degas made of Mallarmé's reply. Probably not very much. No doubt

<sup>+</sup>Footnotes to this chapter begin on p.221.

Chapter Four. Mallarmé: The Beginning and End of the Question.<sup>+</sup>

Open air: - that is the beginning and end of the question we are now studying.

(S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists and Edouard Manet', The Art Monthly Review, Vol.I, n°9, 30 September 1876, p.119).

Around the life and work of Stéphane Mallarmé, there are anecdotes which seem to have taken on, through the years, a note of allegory. One of the best-known of these recounts a conversation between the poet and Edgar Degas, which took place one evening at the home of Berthe Morisot. Degas, in addition to being the impressionist painter whom we know, also wrote sonnets and, like many artists who try their hand at a second art-form, he took his sonnets very seriously. During dinner, he complained to Mallarmé about the difficulty of writing poetry - a problem about which Mallarmé knew more than most:

Quel métier!...j'ai perdu toute ma journée sur un sacré sonnet, sans avancer d'un pas...Et cependant, ce ne sont pas les idées qui me manquent...J'en suis plein...J'en ai trop...

to which Mallarmé, in the gentle tones of the teacher he always was, replied:

Mais, Degas, ce n'est point avec des idées que l'on fait des vers...C'est avec des mots. /Valéry's italics/.

We are indebted for this anecdote to Paul Valéry, who recounts it in Degas, danse, dessin.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, he does not tell us what Degas made of Mallarmé's reply. Probably not very much. No doubt

<sup>+</sup>Footnotes to this chapter begin on p.221.

he thought that the enigmatic poet was just having his little joke and, in that, I think he was right. Yet Degas should have understood and had Mallarmé applied his remarks to painting, saying, 'Mais, Degas, ce n'est point avec des idées que l'on fait des tableaux. C'est avec des couleurs', Degas would have seen immediately what the poet was getting at. Yet Mallarmé's remark was not without its serious side. The ironic note in his reply came from the fact that pictorial Impressionism had helped the poet considerably in his own struggle with the same problem. Between 1864 and 1876, Mallarmé wrote at least four versions of 'L'Après-midi d'un faune'.<sup>2</sup> A comparison of those versions available to us is proof enough that ideas alone are insufficient to create poetry for, with the one important exception which we shall see, those contained in the 1876 version were present from the first draft onwards. Furthermore, if Valéry had recounted the conversation between poet and painter at greater length, we may well have heard Mallarmé add that words alone were also insufficient for, here again, a lexical comparison of the three texts proves that the words common to all three greatly outnumber those present either in the Burty manuscript alone or in both second and third versions.<sup>3</sup> In 1864, then, the lexical and intellectual content of the poem are well established in the poet's mind. It is the relationship of one to the other which changes during the years which follow. In the course of them, Mallarmé discovered Impressionism.

In the course of 1873, the poet paid the first of the almost-daily visits to Manet's studio which were

to become a feature of his life until the painter's death in 1883.<sup>4</sup> The purpose of this chapter is to explain the poet's remark, two years later: 'J'ai, dix ans, vu tous les jours, mon cher Manet, dont l'absence aujourd'hui me paraît invraisemblable!'<sup>5</sup> The aim, therefore, is not to provide an exhaustive account of Mallarmé's involvement with painting, nor to establish pictorial sources for this or that poem,<sup>6</sup> still less to seek a definition of literary Impressionism which would satisfactorily embrace writers as diverse as the Goncourts, Verlaine and Mallarmé, without, in the process, becoming so general as to be of little use as a critical term. On the other hand, the exceptional impact of Manet upon a poet who had hitherto displayed only an irregular and superficial interest in painting needs to be explained. In the pages which follow, I shall try to show that Mallarmé's discovery and interpretation of Manet's painting, coming as they did at an important moment in his literary career, gave a decisive orientation to his poetry and that his development of pictorial Impressionism anticipated by over a decade that of Gauguin and the synthetist group of painters.

Between 1874 and 1876, Mallarmé published two articles in defence of Manet in particular and of the Impressionists in general. They certainly suggest a profound response to this painting and yet the problem of situating the consequences of this response for his poetic evolution has been less well served by critics in terms of quantity and quality than other aspects of his work.<sup>7</sup> An explanation of this may be contained in H. Mondor's categorical dismissal of the question. The author refers

to Mallarmé's famous decision of 1864 to 'peindre non la chose, mais l'effet qu'elle produit' in order to reject the theory that Impressionism might have been a formative influence upon the poet's mature literary style:

Son impressionnisme, son allusionnisme n'ont donc pas attendu, pour naître et se formuler, l'expérience de l'école impressionniste des peintres.

(H. Mondor: Vie de Mallarmé, Paris, Gallimard, 1941, p.145).

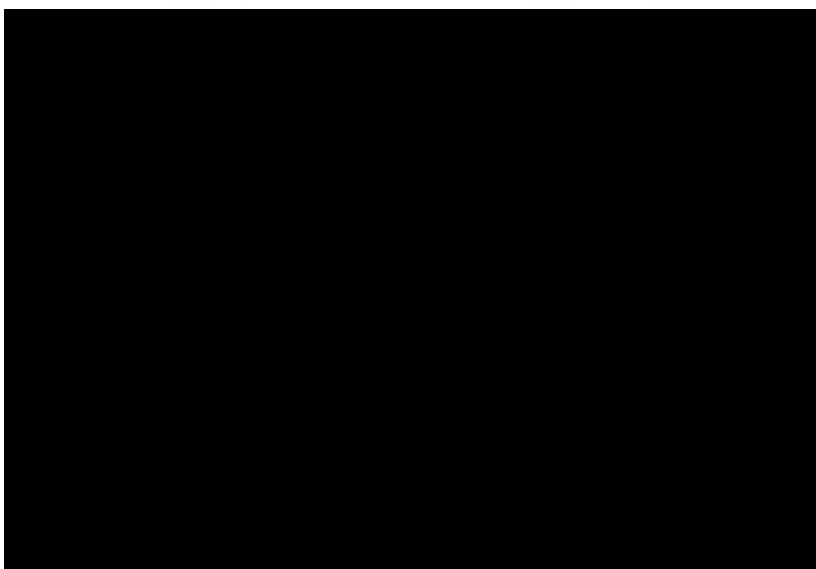
Nearly fifteen years later, L.J. Austin repeated this view, though in a less dogmatic way.<sup>8</sup> Despite Mondor's impeccable chronology, however, the problem is not so easily solved. Clearly, a preference for allusion over direct statement does not of itself require pictorial sources to explain it,<sup>9</sup> but Mallarmé's famous utterance is a statement of intention, not of achievement. The alterations which the poet made between each version of 'L'Après-midi d'un faune' show the distance between the two. The views of Mondor and Austin would require us to accept that Manet's painting at most confirmed Mallarmé's poetic style, whereas it seems to me to have done much more than this. In my view, the poet's detailed knowledge of the formal innovations of Manet's art helped him to define a new approach to syntax which characterizes the third version of 'L'Après-midi...' and all of his subsequent poetry.

The title of Mallarmé's first article in defence of Manet, 'Le jury de peinture de 1874 et M. Manet', hardly does justice to its importance, for it is not simply one more attack upon the vindictive philistinism of the representatives of official art. Its polemical qualities have for too long obscured

the coherent view of Manet's exceptional place in art history which it puts forward. From 1863 onwards, the opponents of the independents had singled out Manet as the principle target of their derision.<sup>10</sup> In his article, Mallarmé turns this isolation against those responsible for it by using it as proof of Manet's exceptional role as the 'seul homme qui ait tenté de s'ouvrir à lui et à la peinture une voie nouvelle'.<sup>11</sup> In a similar vein, he is not content to argue that the jury, through their incompetence and inconsistency, have forfeited the right to make any judgement at all. He broadens his attack into a global rejection of the direction imposed upon painting by institutions such as the Académie des Beaux-Arts, responsible, in Mallarmé's view, for having lost sight of painting's essentially artistic qualities. Their crime is to have concealed 'l'origine de cet art fait d'onguents et de couleurs' (ibid., p.156). Though at the time of writing, the friendship between poet and painter is still relatively brief, Manet nevertheless already represents for Mallarmé nothing less than a return to the sources of his art. Manet's example could only encourage Mallarmé's parallel venture in the domain of poetic language.

At a time when no criticism is considered too low for Manet but among which those of technical incompetence, warped vision and immorality are the most frequently heard, Mallarmé draws attention to the 'purs moyens demandés à cet art' (ibid.). Thus, commenting upon the two paintings refused by the jury, 'Bal masqué à l'Opéra' and 'Hirondelles', the poet insists upon the way in which the subject of the painting is subordinated

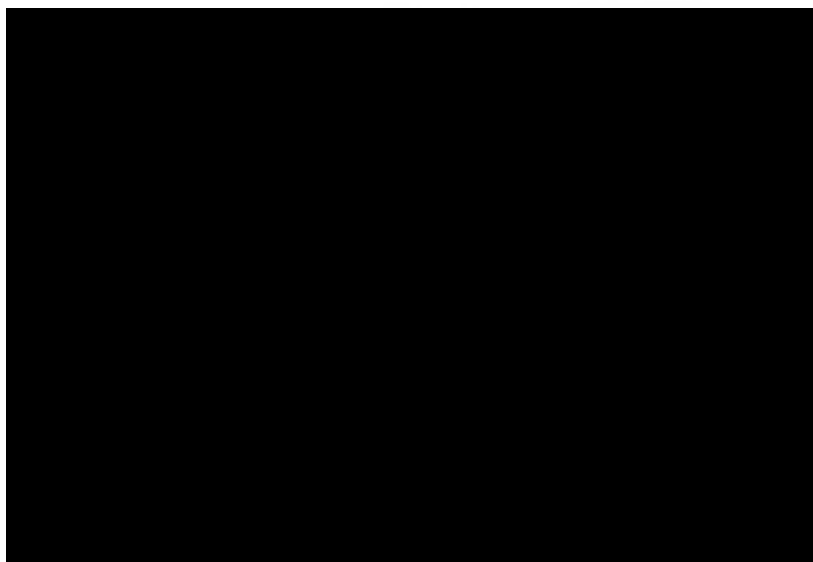




E. Manet: 'Le Chemin de fer', 1873, 93.3 X 114.5 cm., National Gallery, Washington, U.S.A.

(Je crois que cette toile échappée aux ruses et aux combinaisons des organisateurs de Salon, leur réserve encore une autre surprise, quand ce qu'il y aura à dire à son sujet aura été dit par ceux qu'intéressent certaines questions, notamment de métier pur.

S. Mallarmé: 'Le jury de peinture...', p.156).



E. Manet: 'Le Chemin de fer', 1873, 93.3 X 114.5 cm., National Gallery, Washington, U.S.A.

(Je crois que cette toile échappée aux ruses et aux combinaisons des organisateurs de Salon, leur réserve encore une autre surprise, quand ce qu'il y aura à dire à son sujet aura été dit par ceux qu'intéressent certaines questions, notamment de métier pur.

S. Mallarmé: 'Le jury de peinture...', p.156).

to a particular harmony of colours. Thus, in 'Bal masqué...', the role of the masks is to 'rompre, par quelques tons de frais bouquets, la monotonie possible du fond d'habits noir' (ibid.). Furthermore, the coats, hats, velvets etc. form 'une gamme délicieuse trouvée dans les noirs' (ibid.). Similarly, the two female figures in 'Hirondelles' 'ne sont...que des accessoires en la composition, comme il sied que les perçoive dans un si grand espace l'œil du peintre, arrêté à la seule harmonie de leurs étoffes grises et d'une après-midi de septembre' (ibid.).

Even on the polemical level, there is more to Mallarmé's article than meets the eye. At one point, he ridicules a charge frequently levelled against the work of Manet and the Impressionists, namely, that it would lead to a decline in artistic standards and, consequently, in public taste:

Quant au public, arrêté, lui, devant la reproduction immédiate de sa personnalité multiple, va-t-il ne plus jamais détourner les yeux de ce miroir pervers ni les reporter sur les magnificences allégoriques des plafonds ou les panneaux approfondis par un paysage, sur l'Art idéal et sublime. Si le moderne allait nuire à l'Eternel! (ibid.).

As is frequently the case with Mallarmé, it is not difficult, upon one level, to appreciate the irony of these remarks and, upon another, to miss the point. The danger of this is reduced in this particular case if the lines quoted above are juxtaposed with the following:

Cette foule hagarde! elle annonce: Nous sommes  
La triste opacité de nos spectres futurs. (18-9)  
(S. Mallarmé: 'Toast funèbre' in: Oeuvres complètes, pp.54-5).

The poem, 'Toast funèbre', dedicated to the memory of Théophile Gautier, was written during the summer of 1873, some six months after Mallarmé's introduction to Manet, and published on 23 October of the same year, the first anniversary of Gautier's death. Both poem and article share the theme of the divorce between the public and the great artist which ends only with the latter's posthumous glory.<sup>12</sup> In the summer of 1873, this theme was hardly applicable to Gautier, reconciled with his public long before his death, but was certainly relevant to Manet's situation, since the painter was still, at this time, the object of public vilification. The living painter, rather than the dead poet, was 'le vierge héros de l'attente posthume'.<sup>13</sup>

La foule, à qui l'on ne cèle rien, vu que tout émane d'elle, se reconnaîtra, une autre fois, dans l'œuvre accumulée et survivante: et son détachement des choses passées n'en sera cette fois, que plus absolu. Gagner quelques années sur M. Manet: triste politique!

(S. Mallarmé: 'Le jury de peinture...', p.157).

In a letter to Coppée, written before leaving for a holiday in Brittany, Mallarmé explained the aspect of Gautier's talent which he intended to exalt:

...Commençant par 'O toi qui...' et finissant par une rime masculine, je veux chanter en rimes plates une des qualités glorieuses de Gautier: le don mystérieux de voir avec les yeux (ôtez mystérieux). Je chanterai le voyant qui, placé dans ce monde, l'a regardé, ce que l'on ne fait pas... *[Mallarmé's italics]*.

(S. Mallarmé: Correspondance, Tome II, p.37).

At the time of writing this letter, Mallarmé could hardly have been unaware that the quality described here, however applicable to Gautier's writings Mallarmé may have considered it, had not

enabled Gautier to appreciate Manet's painting. On the contrary, the older poet had distinguished himself by the severity of his attacks upon the painter since the exhibition of 'Olympia', eight years before.<sup>14</sup> The gift of 'seeing with one's eyes' was, however, precisely that quality which set Manet apart, as far as Mallarmé was concerned, in the history of art, for it was the means by which the painter had embarked upon his return to the source of painting and, therefore, to the origins of man's spiritual life. This view is quite explicit in the article of 1876 but is already implicit in that of 1874. Thus, 'Toast funèbre', in addition to being a public tribute to Gautier, may also be considered as referring, in Mallarmé's mind at least, to Manet.

Textual comparisons between poem and article strengthen this sense of the poem's dual function. Both share the same image of artistic creation, the synthetic gaze of the artist. In the poem, Gautier's achievement is described in the following way:

Le Maître, par un œil profond, a, sur ses pas,  
Apaisé de l'éden l'inquiète merveille (32-3)

The multiplicity and variety of experience, its personal and temporal content, recede before the synthetic gaze of the artist. The general public of Manet's art see there only a reproduction of this multiplicity. For them, the 'mirror' of Manet's art is 'perverse' since it contains only their reflection, an impure notion. Igitur's reflection, on the other hand, fades 'jusqu'à ce qu'il se détachait, permanent, de la glace absolument pure',<sup>15</sup>

should not blind us to the fact that from 1873 onwards, Mallarmé was informed of the premisses of Manet's painting and prepared to relate them to his own literary preoccupations. This two-fold approach would deepen with the growing friendship of the two artists and would culminate in the second article, written two years after the first, and the important alterations made by the poet between the first and third versions of *L'Après-midi d'un faune* during the course of 1875.<sup>18</sup>

'Le jury de peinture...' thus occupies a more important place in Mallarmé's work than is generally realised. Nevertheless, when compared to the second article, the first seems essentially an introduction, a presentation of the issues involved in an embryonic form. Though the basic orientation remains the same, the ideas are now developed in a much more systematic way. Though the quest remains that of the '*origine de cet art fait d'onguents et de couleurs*' and the means the '*purs moyens demandés à cet art*', the painter's work is now presented as both a specific moment in art history and a cosmic principle, as a necessary progression beyond pictorial realism and a new stage in the evolution of human consciousness.

Both the historical and philosophical dimensions of the problem are introduced in the brief discussion of realism with which the article opens. On the strictly technical level, Mallarmé has made considerable progress in the two years which separate the articles, for his terminology in the second is of a precision which poets writing upon painting only rarely attain.<sup>19</sup>

Having made acquaintance with Berthe Morisot and, through her, with Monet and Renoir among others of the impressionist group, he now feels qualified to make certain stylistic distinctions, admittedly rather limited, between different members. The importance of Courbet is also explained and brief mention made of such parallel attempts to return to the source of their art as those undertaken by Gustave Moreau and Puvis de Chavannes. Yet Mallarmé's much deeper knowledge of contemporary painting serves only to reinforce the complete domination of Manet. Thus, in an oblique reference to the chronologically-indisputable fact that Monet, Sisley and Pissarro had chosen, before Manet, to paint out of doors, Mallarmé remarks:

It is not rare for one of these three to steal a march on Manet, who suddenly perceiving their anticipated or explained tendency, sums up all their ideas in one powerful and masterly work.

(S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.121).

The reason for Manet's privileged position in art history is to be found, according to Mallarmé, in his attitude to nature. In his study of it, the painter has conformed to Mallarmé's definition of the poet:

Comme le Poète a sa divulgation, de même il vit... antérieurement selon un pacte avec la Beauté qu'il se chargea d'apercevoir de son nécessaire et compréhensif regard, et dont il connaît les transformations.

(S. Mallarmé: 'Quant au livre' in: Oeuvres complètes, p.378).

The relationship between these lines and those, quoted above (p.183), from 'Toast funèbre', seems clear enough. They are also particularly relevant to Manet, for, time and again, Mallarmé returns

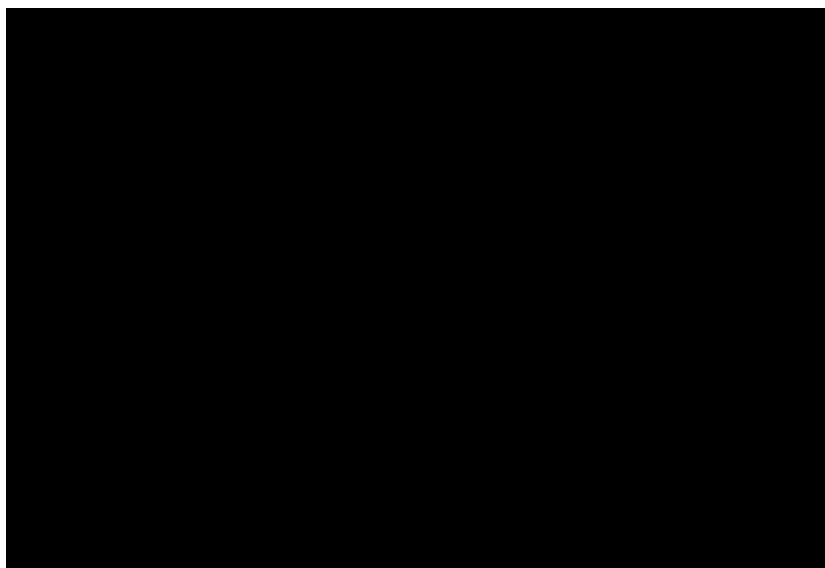
to these concepts of 'anteriority' and the 'necessary and comprehensive gaze' in order to resume his sense of Manet's contribution to painting:

In extremely civilised epochs the following necessity becomes a matter of course, the development of art and thought having nearly reached their far limits - art and thought are obliged to retrace their own footsteps, and to return to their ideal source, which never coincides with their real beginnings...The scope and aim...of Manet and his followers is that painting shall be steeped again in its cause, and its relation to nature.

(S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.122).

The elimination both of nature's personal and transient qualities and of the artist's own impure presence, the elimination of imperfection in both object and subject, alone permitted access to that essential spirituality which painting derived from its relationship to nature. Manet's art is repeatedly praised for its 'absence of all personal intrusion'(ibid.,p.120), for the artist's total submission to nature. What is essentially a naturalistic definition of the artist's role has thus become the cornerstone of the poet's idealist aesthetic, in which the observed reality of Naturalism is the point of departure towards that spirituality hidden behind appearances. At this point, we approach the real meaning of Mallarmé's quite unusual sense of kinship with Manet. For the poet, both had shared the same Promethean crisis. Mallarmé, whose aim was nothing less than to resolve, through a new poetic language, the spiritual crisis of mankind, saw in Manet's art a pictorial counterpart of the Work of which he dreamed for poetry. Manet and the Impressionists are described as 'new and impersonal men'(ibid.,p.122), a direct echo of the poet's earlier description,

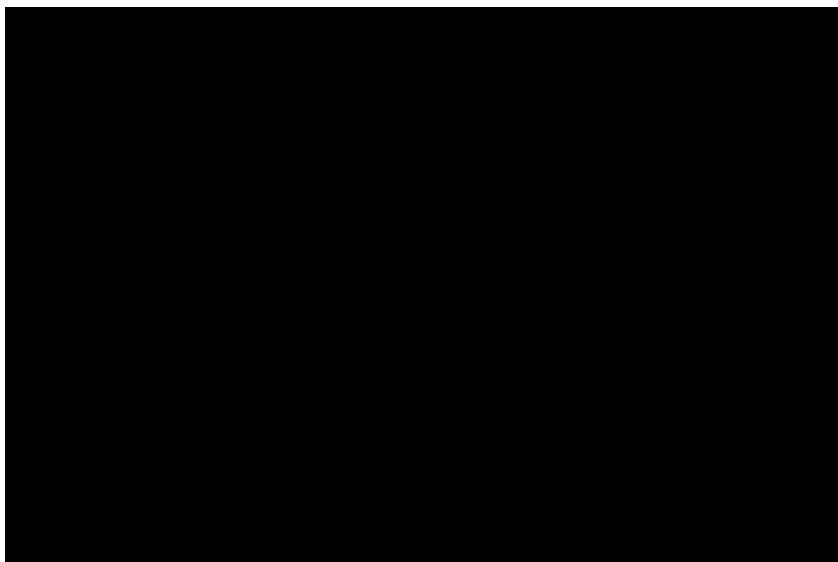




E. Manet: 'En Bateau', 1874, 97.1 X 130.2 cm., Metropolitan Museum, New York, U.S.A.

(If we turn to natural perspective...and look at these sea-pieces of Manet, where the water at the horizon rises to the height of the frame, which alone interrupts it, we feel a new delight at the recovery of a long obliterated truth.

S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.120).



E. Manet: 'En Bateau', 1874, 97.1 X 130.2 cm., Metropolitan Museum, New York, U.S.A.

(If we turn to natural perspective...and look at these sea-pieces of Manet, where the water at the horizon rises to the height of the frame, which alone interrupts it, we feel a new delight at the recovery of a long obliterated truth.

S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.120).

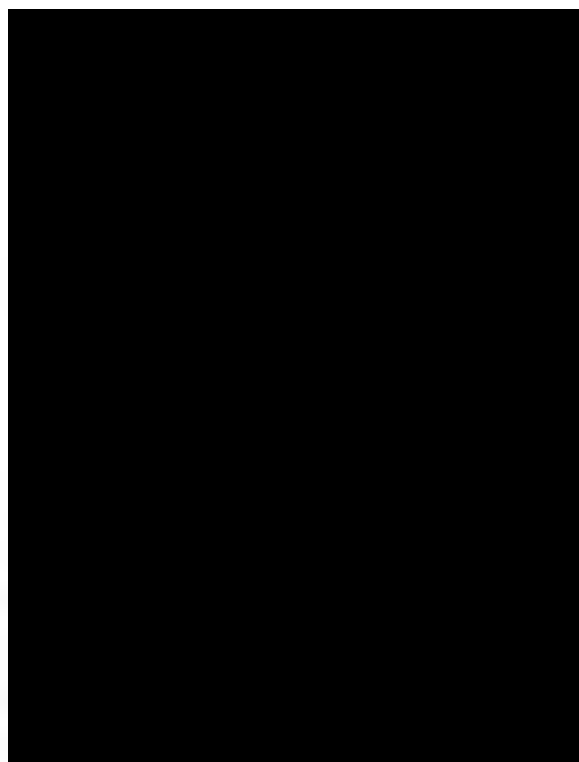
in a letter to Henri Cazalis of 1867, of himself as a 'spiritual aptitude':<sup>20</sup>

C'est t'apprendre que je suis maintenant impersonnel, et non plus Stéphane que tu as connu, - mais une aptitude qu'a l'Univers Spirituel à se voir et à se développer, à travers ce qui fut moi.

(S. Mallarmé: *Correspondance*, Tome I. 1862-1871 (Receuil-  
lie, classée et annotée par H. Mondor, avec la collabo-  
ration de J.-P. Richard), Paris, Gallimard, 1959, p.242).

or, 'un coin de la création vu à travers un tempérament'(Zola).<sup>21</sup>  
Mallarmé would not have disagreed with Zola's formula, only with its range. His comments upon Manet's painting show the extent to which the potential for an idealist theory of art is fully present in that painting which, in other respects, represents the culmination of the naturalist theory of art.

In his article, the poet uses on no less than four occasions the same metaphor to evoke this return to spiritual innocence: it is that of immersion in water. Thus, Manet endeavours to 'seek out a type rather than a personality and to flood it with light and air'.<sup>22</sup> In 'Le Linge', the foliage 'holds imprisoned a flood of summer morning air'(ibid.), while the entire painting is 'deluged with air'(ibid.). The painter's technique is compared to that of a man 'who knows that his surest plan to learn to swim safely, is, dangerous as it may seem, to throw himself into the water'(ibid., p.118). Through its associated themes of purification, spiritual renewal and return to original integrity, the image forms an important link in Mallarmé's complex aesthetic and metaphysical system. It is present from the early poems of the 60's, its allusive richness deepening through to the disappearance



E. Manet: 'Le Linge', 1875, 145 X 115 cm., The Barnes Foundation, Merion Station, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. Photograph Copyright 1976 by The Barnes Foundation.

(The natural light of day penetrating into and influencing all things, although itself invisible, reigns also on this typical picture called 'The Linen'...a complete and final repertory of all current ideas and the means of their execution.

S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.119).

of the hero beneath the waves in 'Un Coup de dés...'<sup>23</sup> From this point of view, Mallarmé's admiration for 'pleinairisme' was a natural one. Air shared with water the capacity to penetrate and assimilate everything within an all-embracing fluidity. In addition, however, it possessed that most Mallarméan of virtues, invisibility:

The complexion, the special beauty which springs from the very source of life...demands daylight - that is space with the transparence of air alone. The natural light of day penetrating into and influencing all things, although itself invisible, reigns also on this typical picture called "The Linen"...

(S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.119).

For Mallarmé, Manet's achievement had been one of enabling these submerged truths to surface, thereby putting 'the far dream-ages of mankind'(ibid.,p.122) within his reach. The painter's formal means did not simply solve certain problems raised by painting in the open air. They also revealed the existence of an original state of perfection. Thus his sea-scapes provide for the spectator, through the use made of perspective, 'a new delight at the recovery of a long obliterated truth'(ibid.,p.120). 'Pleinairisme' had put at the service of art 'an extraordinary and quasi-original newness of vision'(ibid.,p.121), making us understand, when looking at the most everyday objects 'the delight that we should experience could we but see them for the first time'(ibid.). The painter's eye, or what Mallarmé called 'vision restored to its simplest perfection'(ibid.,p.122), had thus laid bare the very source of that spiritual life which informed matter for the artist capable of penetrating beyond its exteriority.

In the poet's analysis of Manet's

pictorial method, we obtain an insight into the education in art history which contact with the painter has provided him. In Manet's efforts to retrace the footsteps of art, Mallarmé acknowledges the debt to Velasquez and the Flemish school.<sup>24</sup> From the former, Manet inherited what the poet calls 'atmosphere', from the latter, brilliant tones. Upon the continual osmosis of these two elements, the painter's spiritual quest depends.<sup>25</sup> Thus, in 'Le Linge':

Everywhere the luminous and transparent atmosphere struggles with the figures, the dresses, and the foliage, and seems to take to itself some of their substance and solidity; whilst their contours, consumed by the hidden sun and wasted by space, tremble, melt, and evaporate into the surrounding atmosphere, which plunders reality from the figures, yet seems to do so in order to preserve their truthful aspect.

(*ibid.*, p. 119).

In terms which owe much to Hegel,<sup>26</sup> Mallarmé describes the painting as the theatre of a struggle between the two opposing principles of atmosphere and brilliant colour, of fluidity and solidity. In the same process, everyday objects are dissolved by atmosphere while atmosphere is released from its habitual state of invisibility. Though objects in the painting appear to tremble, melt and evaporate' (each verb denoting a further stage in their dematerialisation), this process of vaporization does not destroy materiality. On the contrary, by 'washing away' those defects which the poet associates with fixity, concreteness, particularity, atmosphere reveals the true, ideal origins of reality. The two opposing principles engender one another, they serve one another's mutual realization. At once magical and real,<sup>27</sup> the ideal is present upon canvas, drawn from depth to surface, from past to present:

Poétiser, par art plastique, moyen de prestiges directs, semble, sans intervention, le fait de l'ambiance, éveillant aux surfaces leur lumineux secret.

(S. Mallarmé: 'Berthe Morisot' in: Oeuvres complètes, p.536).

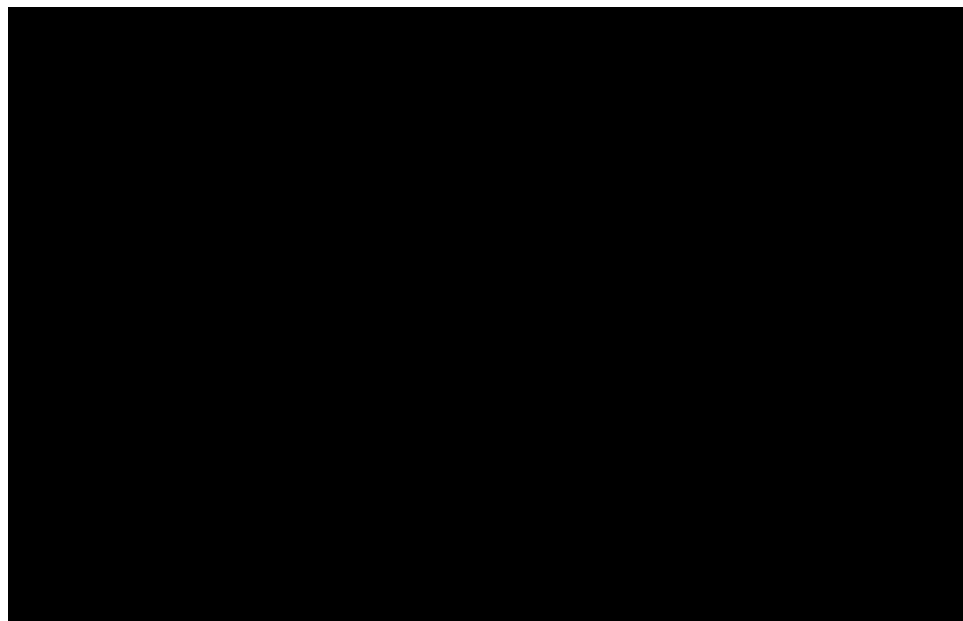
This luminous and direct revelation of the ideal removed the threat of instantaneity inherent in open-air painting. Though the impression is seized only on the point of disappearance,<sup>28</sup> the secret contained in its vibration towards a truth eternally present within it makes of this painting the opposite of discontinuity. The impression is that 'which perpetually lives yet dies every moment'(ibid.,p.122), a synthesis of the instantaneous and the immutable.<sup>29</sup>

This new synthesis necessitates, in pictorial terms, the sacrifice of details. Manet is presented as 'half hiding or sacrificing to those new laws of space and light he set himself to inculcate, some minor details which other would have seized upon'.<sup>30</sup> The painter's eye is a finely-tuned instrument of simplification:

La simplification apporté par un regard de voyant, tant il est positif! à certains procédés de la peinture...

(S. Mallarmé: 'Le jury de peinture...'p.156).<sup>31</sup>

This elimination of detail rooted in particularity is accompanied by a search for generality in the subjects presented. Manet seeks 'to impress upon his work a natural and a general law, to seek out a type rather than a personality'.<sup>32</sup> He and his followers (by whom Mallarmé is referring to Monet, Sisley, Pissarro and Renoir) have created 'a crowd of idealized types'(ibid.,p.122), while of Manet himself, Mallarmé writes that 'such types as he gave us were needed

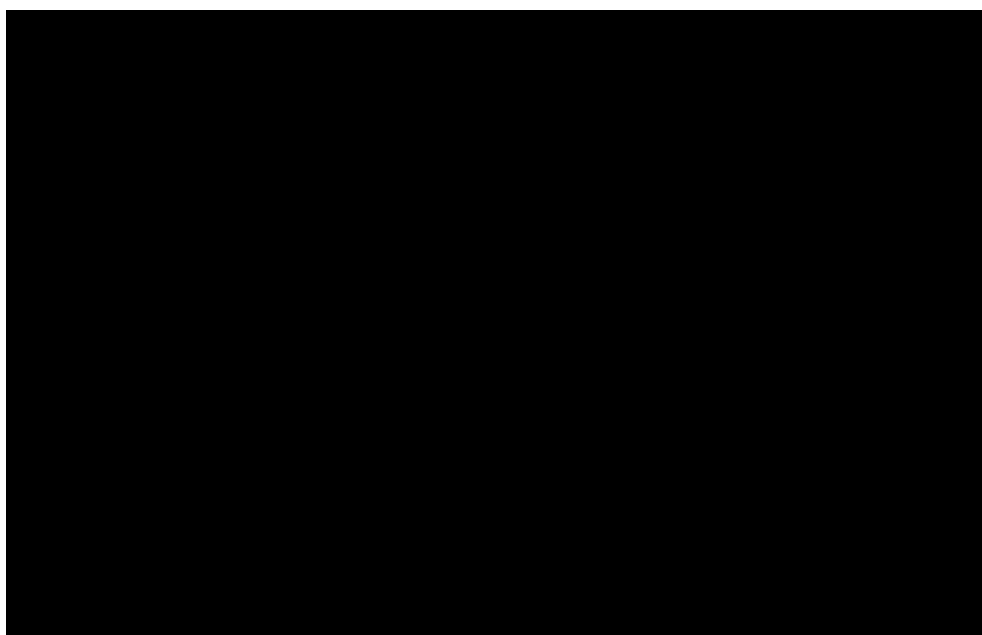


C. Monet: 'Réglates à Argenteuil', 1872, 48 X 73 cm., Musée du Jeu de Paume, Paris.

(Claude Monet loves water, and it is his especial gift to portray its mobility and transparency, be it sea or river, grey and monotonous, or coloured by the sky. I have never seen a boat poised more lightly on the water than in his pictures, or a veil more mobile and light than his moving atmosphere. It is in truth a marvel.

S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.120).





C. Monet: 'Régates à Argenteuil', 1872, 48 X 73 cm., Musée du Jeu de Paume, Paris.

(Claude Monet loves water, and it is his especial gift to portray its mobility and transparency, be it sea or river, grey and monotonous, or coloured by the sky. I have never seen a boat poised more lightly on the water than in his pictures, or a veil more mobile and light than his moving atmosphere. It is in truth a marvel.

S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.120).

in our ambient life'(ibid.,p.118). In the type, only the essential characterization of the object remains. In this way, the single aspect or impression attains the status of generality, thereby becoming a reflection of its ideal origin. In a prose poem, published, significantly, on 20 December 1875, Mallarmé wrote:

...voyons donc s'il n'est pas, dans l'idéal, un aspect nécessaire, évident, simple, qui serve de type.

(S. Mallarmé: 'Un Spectacle interrompu', in: Oeuvres complètes, p.276).

This 'aspect', for Mallarmé, 'the only authentic and certain merit of nature',<sup>33</sup> was precisely the lesson of Manet's art.

Having found in Manet's painting a confirmation of his aesthetic principles, Mallarmé naturally attached great importance to the means by which the painter had fixed the simple and necessary aspect of phenomena. From a familiarity with this pictorial method to its application in his own art-form was a step which Mallarmé, in the mid-1870's, was ready to make.<sup>34</sup> He openly admits as much at two different points of his article. Thus, it is largely thanks to Manet's revelation of nature's necessary aspect that the poet has, in turn, taken from nature 'only that which properly belongs to my art, an original and exact perception which distinguishes for itself the things it perceives with the steadfast gaze of a vision restored to its simplest perfection'.<sup>35</sup> Initially, an 'original and exact perception' might seem to offer little information concerning a poetic style, yet, as far as Mallarmé was concerned, an approach to external reality existed only insofar as it culminated in a new form

of poetic language. We remember, for example, in 'Toast funèbre', that the 'fleurs dont nulle ne se fane' are not the rose and the lily but the words 'rose' and 'lily', which correspond, not to the familiar objects of everyday speech, but, directly, to the essential characteristics of the objects.<sup>36</sup> In a letter to Léo d'Orfer, dated 27 June 1884, Mallarmé defined the poetic process in terms which repeat, verbatim, those of the 1876 article:

La Poésie est l'expression, par le langage ramené à son rythme essentiel, du sens mystérieux des aspects de l'existence.

(S. Mallarmé: Correspondance Tome II, p.266).

In his own medium, Manet had developed a pictorial technique perfectly adapted to his vision. His lightly-juxtaposed brush-strokes attained a harmony, a finished perfection, which the poet could only describe as 'un accord par quoi elle (i.e. l'oeuvre) se tient'<sup>37</sup> and which a single additional dash of colour would annul. In the last analysis, it is this example of an artist in complete possession of his medium which impressed Mallarmé. Referring to, and justifying, the transitional period which has culminated in Manet's mature technique, Mallarmé remarked that 'its parallel is found in literature, when our sympathies are suddenly awakened by some new imagery presented to us'.<sup>38</sup> One should not be taken in by the poet's use of the more general forms of 'us' and 'literature'. In 1876, Manet's defenders among the writers of Mallarmé's acquaintance were few and far between<sup>39</sup> and the poet is certainly referring to his own poetry. The theoretical parallel which Mallarmé found in Manet's painting is confirmed by the following definition of poetic

language, which, by its very terms, repeating those of the 1876 article, confirms the revelation which Manet's painting represented for the poet:

A quoi bon la merveille de transposer un fait de nature en sa presque disparition vibratoire selon le jeu de la parole, cependant; si ce n'est pour qu'en émane, sans la gêne d'un proche ou concret rappel, la notion pure...

Le vers qui de plusieurs vocables refait un mot total, neuf, étranger à la langue et comme incantatoire, achève cet isolement de la parole: niant, d'un trait souverain, le hasard demeuré aux termes malgré l'artifice de leur retrempe alternée en le sens et la sonorité, et vous cause cette surprise de n'avoir ouï jamais tel fragment ordinaire d'élocution, en même temps que la réminiscence de l'objet nommé baigne dans une neuve atmosphère.

(S. Mallarmé: 'Crise de vers', in: Oeuvres complètes, . p.368).

During this period of his deepening familiarity with, and love of, Manet's painting, Mallarmé was also preparing 'L'Après-midi d'un faune' for publication.<sup>40</sup> We must be aware against trying to explain each variation in the text of the poem as Mallarmé's systematic application of Manet's pictorial method. Any influence so tyrannical as to blot out an entire literary past is unacceptable in the case of Mallarmé. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the need not to make exaggerated claims, it seems impossible to ignore Manet's part in the poem's 1876 form.<sup>41</sup> The thematic developments appear reinforced by the painter's example, while its formal presentation would have been impossible without it.

The major thematic innovation of B is, of course, that of the sublimation of sensual experience through art.<sup>42</sup> Subtle changes in the faun's aspirations between A and B begin in the first line, in which 'J'avais des nymphes!' (A) is

replaced by : 'Cos Nymphes, je les veux émerveiller!' (B), where simple regret gives way to an, as yet, unrevealed intention, a sensual experience situated in the immediate past to an intellectual adventure in the future.<sup>43</sup> The second faun's increasing distance from the original impression of sensuality is suddenly heightened by his discovery that the breath and sound of which he was conscious could not have been those of the surrounding air and murmuring water but were inspired in him by Apollo, God of music. Thus, the lines in A:

Non, non: le vent des mers versant la pâmouison  
 Aux lèvres pâlisant de soif vers les calices,  
 N'a, pour les rafraîchir, ni ces contours si lisses  
 A toucher, ni ces creux mystères où tu bois  
 Des fraîcheurs que jamais pour toi n'eurent les bois!..  
 (14-18)

are modified in the following way in B:

Oui-da! sous l'anxieuse et lasse pâmouison  
 Suffoquant de clarté le matin frais s'il lutte,  
 Ne vagabonde d'eau que ne verse la flûte  
 Au bosquet rafraîchi de chant: et le seul vent  
 Hors de mes tuyaux prompt à s'exhaler avant  
 Qu'il disperse la voix dans une pluie aride,  
 C'est à l'horizon pas remué d'une ride,  
 L'invisible et serein souffle artificiel  
 De l'inspiration qui regagne le Ciel.  
 (14-22)

Paul Valéry is one of our most reliable means of access to Mallarmé's artistic tastes. For Valéry, Mallarmé found in Manet's painting 'la merveille d'une transposition sensuelle et spirituelle consommée sur la toile',<sup>44</sup> an accurate description of the change, between A and B, of the faun's interpretation of his impression. For the disappearance of the nymphs (real or imagined), the faun consoles himself with the realisation of his artistic vocation:

Alors m'éveillerai-je à la ferveur première,  
Droit et seul, sous un flot antique de lumière,  
Lys! et l'un de vous tous pour l'ingénuité. (C.35-7)

At this point in the original version, the faun was still at the stage of wondering whether he was the dupe of his desire:

Tout ceci m'interdit: et suis-je donc la proie  
De mon désir torride, et si trouble qu'il croie  
Aux ivresses de sa sève?  
Serais-je pur? (A.31-3)

In the two versions, the faun is therefore concerned with two quite different sorts of purity. In A, the term remains strictly sexual as the faun wonders whether he has taken his desire for reality. In C, however, with the disappearance of the nymphs, he vows to devote himself to a higher passion and, illuminated with the divine light of inspiration, to become the equal of nature's original purity, of which the lily is the symbol<sup>45</sup> and to which each of the three lines refers through, successively, 'première', 'antique' and 'ingénuité'. With these lines, the faun gives a very Mallarméan expression to Manet's 'vision restored to its simplest perfection'.<sup>46</sup>

For the faun, art is characterized by the invention of fictions. Of his flute, he says:

Qui, détournant à soi le trouble de la joue,  
Rêve en un long solo que nous amusions  
La beauté d'alentour par des confusions  
Fausses entre elle-même et notre chant crédule; (C.44-7)

J.-P. Richard (op.cit., p.295ff) has shown the extent to which this creation of fictions is associated in Mallarmé with a Hegelian cult of the Will, while G. Poulet has related it to cartesian doubt.<sup>47</sup> Even without such philosophical antecedents, an elementary respect

for chronology would prevent one seeking its source in Manet and the Impressionists. The idea is fully contained in the notes which the poet wrote in 1869 with a view to preparing a thesis for the agrégation. Here, he wrote that 'fiction' seemed to be 'le procédé même de l'esprit humain - c'est elle qui met en jeu toute méthode, et l'homme est réduit à la volonté'.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, Mallarmé's unusual sense of sharing Manet's spiritual quest can only have been strengthened when he discovered to his surprise that the painter had arrived, by a quite different route, at very similar conclusions:

One of his habitual aphorisms then is that no one should paint a landscape and a figure by the same process, with the same knowledge, or in the same fashion; nor what is more, even two landscapes or two figures. Each work should be a new creation of the mind...the hand should become an impersonal abstraction guided only by the will...

(S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.118).

Having established for himself, after much metaphysical speculation, the impossibility of an objectively-existing reality, the poet discovered a group of painters who seemed to have done the same simply by opening their eyes and realising the error of traditional theories of perception. Open-air painting was proof enough of the fragility of matter and of the primacy of the artist's creative will. Later, Mallarmé described the painting of Berthe Morisot as 'la riche analyse, chastement pour la restaurer, de la vie, selon une alchimie, - mobilité et illusion',<sup>49</sup> where, again, the notion of fiction is accompanied by those of purity and the creative magic of art.

## In a Fine-Art Gossip of 20 March

1876, Mallarmé described 'Le Linge' in the following way:

Le corps de la jeune femme est entièrement baigné et  
comme absorbé par la lumière qui ne laisse d'elle qu'un  
aspect à la fois solide et vaporeux, ainsi que le veut  
le plein air à quoi tout le monde vise aujourd'hui en  
France: ce phénomène se produit principalement à l'égard  
des chairs, taches roses mobiles et fondues dans l'espace  
ambiant. Cette oeuvre, étonnante en elle-même et douée  
du plus haut charme, offre à l'avenir l'une des dates  
les plus décisives de l'Art contemporain. *(Mallarmé's  
italics)*  
(S. Mallarmé: Les Gossips..., p.70).

As the faun rouses himself from sleep, the heat is such that 'tout  
brûle dans l'heure fauve'(C.32). the adjective describes both the  
colour and the violence of the sunlight and is present from the  
first version onwards. Subtle changes appear, however, in the  
poet's description of the faun's surroundings. At one point, the  
faun addresses the décor in an attempt to establish the events of  
the morning:

O glafeuls séchés d'un marécage  
Qu'à l'égal du soleil ma passion saccage,  
Joncs tremblant (s) avec des étincelles, contez (A.19-21)

O bords siciliens du sacré marécage  
Qu' à l'égal de l'été ma déraison saccage,  
Tacites avec des étincelles, contez (B.23-5)

O bords siciliens d'un calme marécage  
Qu'à l'envi de soleils ma vanité saccage,  
Tacite sous les fleurs d'étincelles, CONTEZ (C.23-5)

In his appeal to the décor in A, the faun addresses first, the  
'glafeuls séchés', second, the 'joncs tremblant' as he widens his  
field of vision. In B, this process is taken a stage further when  
both gladioli and reeds are omitted in favour of the wider 'bords  
siciliens'. Similarly, the more precise 'du sacré marécage' is re-



placed by 'd'un calme marécage', <sup>50</sup> in the passage from B to C. While eliminating specific description of the flowers, however, the poet retains through each version the attribute, 'étincelles', which describes the quivering light given off as the sun's rays fall upon the flowers. The main change in C is the reinstatement of the flowers, banished from B, and which reappear, not as the specific 'glacis' but as the general 'fleurs' and not as simply the real flowers in the faun's field of vision but as a shimmering bouquet composed of both these flowers and the metaphorical flowers thrown off by the sun's rays. The real flowers have been dissolved by the sun, the 'bouquet' of the sun's rays has been vivified through the presence of the real flowers. The same wish to coalesce real and imaginary elements is seen in Mallarmé's singularization in C of 'Tacite'. In B, the adjective can only qualify 'bords'; in C, however, it may refer to 'marécage' and 'vanité'. Literal in B, it is both literal and metaphorical in C. To the same end, 'avec' in B is replaced by 'sous' in C. The plural which is lost in this process is reinstated in 'soleils', singular in A and, like 'fleurs', absent from B. The fairly trite metaphor in A of passion and the heat of the sun ('...à l'égal du soleil, ma passion...') is replaced in C by the more general form ('...à l'envi de soleils ma vanité...'). The theme of the struggle of two equal forces is not absent from C, despite the disappearance of the epithet, 'égal'. Rather, it is suggested by the sound of the line, in which 'Qu'à l'envi...' at the beginning is balanced by '...vanité

saccage' at the end. Between the two earlier and the third versions, semantic and syntactic precision is loosened in order to underline the faun's hesitations between real and imaginary dimensions.

The same process is seen in the opening lines of the poem:

J'avais des nymphes!  
Est-ce un songe? Non: le clair  
Rubis des seins levés embrase encore l'air  
Immobile,  
(Respirant.)  
et je bois les soupirs.  
(Frappant du pied.)  
Où sont-elles? (A.1-3)

Ces Nymphes, je les veux émerveiller!  
 Si clair,  
 Leur naif incarnat qu'il flotte dans tout l'air  
 Encombré de sommeil touffu.  
 Baisais-je un songe? (B.1-3)

Ces nymphes, je les veux perpétuer. Si clair,  
Leur incarnat léger, qu'il voltige dans l'air  
Assoupi de sommeils touffus. Aimai-je un rêve? (C.1-3)

Considerable changes in these lines between A and the two subsequent versions are immediately obvious. The first faun's certainty at having possessed the nymphs is followed by doubt which is, in turn, promptly dismissed. This movement gives way to the second and third faun's more complex efforts to understand the sensual experience. From B onwards, this sensuality will be sublimated in art, a theme already alluded to in 'émerveiller' and 'perpétuer'. Yet the most interesting feature of these lines is the manner in which Mallarmé dematerializes the faun's experience, for it reveals striking parallels with Manet's technique in 'Le Lince' as it is described by the poet.

The first faun promptly dismisses doubt as to the reality of his experience, for the nymphs' objective existence seems guaranteed by his vivid colour-impression, 'le clair/Rubis'. In B and C, Mallarmé indicates the faun's increasing doubt as to the nymphs' reality by retaining only that part of the colour suggested by the adjective 'clair'. Red is softened into a flesh-coloured pink whose source is no longer the bodies of real nymphs but the nearby roses. Their colour is, in turn, drained by the effect of the sun and by the still-drowsy vision of the waking faun. Syntactically, the colour is made concrete in A by the poet's use of the noun 'rubis', placed in the dominant position at the head of the line. The substitution of 'incarnat' for 'rubis' weakens the nominal role, all the more so since the new colour is no longer at the head of the line but is surrounded by adjectives. In B, Mallarmé precedes 'incarnat' with the abstract 'naïf', a good example of the juxtaposition of material and spiritual which is a feature of the poet's variations between the first and later versions. In C, he is even more successful by surrounding the colour on both sides by the liquid 'l', of which the line contains no less than five examples and which convey very well the faun's impression of colour floating in the surrounding atmosphere. This, we remember, was precisely Mallarmé's description of the figures in 'Le Linge'. Just as, in the painting, the figures are reduced by the effect of light to 'taches molles et fondues dans l'espace ambiant', similarly, in the poem, décor, nymphs and faun himself are dissolved within the faun's drowsy

consciousness. The generality of heat's soporific effect is insisted upon through the change, between B and C, of the singular 'sommeil touffu' into the plural 'sommeils touffus'. In this respect, Mallarmé can only have been too glad to rid himself of the participle 'encombré', most unsuited to the ethereal effect which he is trying to convey. That which replaces it, 'assoupi', is immeasurably better, for it conveys, in a way quite impossible for 'encombré', the penetration of atmosphere into every living thing by showing the faun and his environment participating in the same heat-induced sleep. The first version contains, however, another source of this epithet. In addition to being better suited to the meaning of the line, 'assoupi' enables Mallarmé to reinstate the sound-pattern contained in A, where he had written: 'je bois les soupirs', of which 'assoupi' reproduces the 'a', 's', 'ou' and 'i'. It is not normally realised the extent to which Mallarmé, in passing from B to C, returned to elements, whether words or sounds, already present in A. In keeping with the other modifications, Mallarmé, in this case, reduces the explicitly sexual content of the image and completes the process of vaporization by replacing an image of individual sexual excitement by one of generalized drowsiness. Syntactically, the present tense of the transitive 'je bois' (A) is replaced by the adjectival 'assoupi' (B). The term, 'sommeil touffu' (B), is an improvement of rare quality. Sleep is made heavier, décor, as light as air, through this remarkable juxtaposition. Here, contours really are 'consumed by the hidden sun' and do 'evaporate into the surrounding atmosphere,

which plunders reality from the figures'.<sup>51</sup>

In a letter to Mallarmé dated 23 November 1896, Paul Claudel spoke of Mallarmé's style in the following way:

...Votre phrase où dans l'aérien contre-poids des ablatifs absolus et des incidentes, la proposition principale n'existe plus que du fait de son absence, se maintient dans une sorte d'équilibre instable et me rappelle ces dessins japonais où la figure n'est dessinée que par son blanc, et n'est que le geste résumé qu'elle trace. Etant donné un grand écrivain, il fallait qu'il fût Parisien pour inventer un pareil style et s'en servir...

(P. Claudel in: Mondor: Vie..., p.745).

Claudel's assimilation of Mallarmé's mature poetic style to a Parisian adaptation of the pictorial technique which contributed much to Impressionism is a very interesting one. In particular, his description of his poetry in terms of an 'unstable equilibrium' seems to me very appropriate to the examples of 'L'Après-midi...' upon which I have commented. Claudel was referring to one of the most important aspects of Mallarmé's departure from conventional linguistic usage - his reduction of verbs in favour of participles, adjectives and adverbial clauses. Despite quite lengthy sequences in the poem (particularly in the second half), when fewer changes are made than in the examples which we have seen, this tendency is nevertheless present in 1876.<sup>52</sup> 'Assoupi', 'touffus' and the 'joncs tremblants' which become simply 'tacite' (without the noun) may already have suggested as much to the reader. A typical example is the change which Mallarmé brings to the question:

car les preuves  
D'une femme, où faut-il, mon sein, que tu les treuves? (A.35-6)

which, in C, becomes:

Mon sein, vierge de preuve... (C.40)

The consequence of this procedure is to annul the conventional hierarchy of linguistic units. Clauses which in normal speech would be subordinate to a main verb are now raised to the status of equality with it. Another aspect of the same procedure is the poet's juxtaposition of material and spiritual elements within the same linguistic unit such as 'Aimai-je un rêve?' (C.3), 'arrosé d'accords' (C.17), etc. The reeds are tamed successively by 'ma lèvres' (A.23), 'le chanteur' (B.27) and 'le talent' (C.27), while the two nymphs make love 'en ce lit hasardeux' (A.65), then sleep 'parmi le rayon hasardeux' (B.70) and, finally, 'parmi leurs seuls bras hasardeux' (C.70). If we remember that at the time of making alterations such as these, Mallarmé had watched, almost daily for over two years, Manet release colour from subservience to illusionist shadow and to academic line and construct the painting upon juxtaposed strokes of colour, the remarks of Valéry and Claudel seem even more appropriate. As regards the significance, for his own work, of the impressionist brush-stroke, Mallarmé was, in 1876, quite clear:

...that which I preserve through the power of Impressionism is not the material portion which already exists, superior to any mere representation of it, but the delight of having recreated nature touch by touch.  
[My italics].

(S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.122).<sup>53</sup>

With the realization that his impression of colour originated, not in the bodies of nymphs, but in the

surrounding rose-bushes, the faun seeks another explanation of the nymphs' presence:

Rien.

(A grands pas.)

Je les veux!

(S'arrêtant)

Mais si ce beau couple au pillage

N'était qu'illusion de mes sens fabuleux? (A.8-9)

Réfléchissons.

Que si le couple dont tu gloses

Atteste le souhait de tes sens fabuleux... (B.8-9)

Réfléchissons...

ou si les femmes dont tu gloses

Figurent un souhait de tes sens fabuleux! (C.8-9)

These lines, which contain in A a direct statement of desire, followed by a question (which is, in turn, promptly answered in line 10), are dominated, in B and C, by the process of memory. Between the two later versions, Mallarmé increases the distance which separates the faun's sensation from its source by replacing 'que' (B) with 'ou' (C), which suggests at least one unformulated alternative and, typographically, by increasing the space between 'réfléchissons' and the result of this reflection. The same purpose is served by placing after 'réfléchissons' in C the three dots which, in B, follow 'fabuleux'. The female presence, already hypothetical in B, is weakened still further in C by being thus enveloped in a syntactical and typographical negation and one which resembles impressionist atmosphere in the sense that a visible effect, in both poem and painting, reveals an invisible cause. Yet, once again, Mallarmé takes care not to merely dissolve the real in favour of the imaginary, for he introduces the opposite movement with the change of the phrase 'ce beau couple' (A), into 'le couple' (B)

and, finally, into 'les femmes'(C). With each version, the impression of femininity becomes numerically less precise, but sensually more so. (The phrase, 'les femmes', contains a distinct suggestion of Renoir. Had Mallarmé wished to continue the progression towards vagueness, he might, for example, have written 'les formes'). Similarly, 'au pillage' (A) is replaced by 'dont tu gloses' (B and C). The precision and detail of the literary gloss counters the syntactical and typographical negation which we saw above in the example of 'réfléchissons'. Furthermore, with the phrase, 'dont tu gloses', Mallarmé deliberately reverses his general tendency at this time to eliminate transitive verbs in favour of nominal clauses. Always, there is the same concern to show real and imaginary, sensual and ideal not as simple antagonists but as complementaries. The most successful example, however, is Mallarmé's removal of 'atteste' (B) in favour of 'figure' (C). Through its literal meaning of 'donner une forme à' and through its position at the head of line 9, it strikes a perfect balance with 'fabuleux' at the end of it. It is perfectly suited to the other changes in these two lines, for, like them, it seems to be dictated by the poet's effort to provide a parallel, upon the affective level, of the struggle between atmosphere and colour in terms of which Mallarmé described 'Le Linge'.

Having rejected several hypotheses concerning the nymphs' presence/absence, the faun concludes that the only breath present in the atmosphere is that which he breathed into his flute and which has been transformed by the God of music.



These lines, together with the theme of the sublimation of sensuality through art which they contain, are absent from the first version:

L'invisible et serein souffle artificiel  
De l'inspiration qui regagne le Ciel. (B.21-2)

Le visible et serein souffle artificiel  
De l'inspiration, qui regagne le ciel. (C.21-2)

Inspiration's serene breath, invisible in B, is made visible in C, just as, in 'Le Linge', the life of art is 'subjected to the phenomena thus called up by science and shown to our astonished eyes, with its invisible action rendered visible' (ibid., p.119).

The first faun, when, upon awakening, he realises that the nymphs have escaped him, addresses the décor:

O feuillage, si tu protèges ces mortelles,  
Rends les moi... (A.4-5)

At this stage, he receives no reply but, later in the poem, he repeats this charge of complicity brought against the décor and, in addition, accuses his musical instrument:

Donc, mes bois de lauriers remués, confidentes  
Des fuites, et vous, lys, au pudique silence,  
Vous conspiriez?... (A.12-4)

The image of the flute as a 'confident of flight' is a natural one, given Syrinx's flight from Pan, who turned her into the reeds from which he cut his flute. Mallarmé was clearly reluctant to part with the image for he retained it in the second and third versions, yet he did so in a way which illustrates very well the example with which Manet's painting provided him. Like the object in a 'plein-air' painting, the image is split up, 'confident' appear-

ing in line 42:

Mais, bast! arcane tel élut pour confident  
Le jonc vaste et jumeau dont sous l'azur on joue: (C.42-3)

while 'des fuites' appears ten lines further on:

Tâche donc, instrument des fuites, ô maligne  
Syrinx, de reflourir aux lacs où tu m'attends! (C.52-3)

the flute is thus referred to on two separate occasions, first, as instrument, second, as confident; that is, as the source of, first, the disappearance of reality, second, the appearance of spirituality. The flute is an instrument of flight for the mythological reason which I have just mentioned and also for the fact that, as we learn later in the poem, the notes of music cause the nymphs to flee. The flute is also a confident for it is the sole means by which Apollo may transmit to the faun the secret of art. The initial 'confident des fuites' is therefore made both more concrete ('instrument') and more spiritual ('arcane tel élut...'). What in A was a straightforward reference to Classical mythology becomes in B and C a link with which to intertwine more tightly the faun's two opposing aspirations. Still more revealing in this respect is the change in line 42 between the two later versions for, in B, Mallarmé had written:

Mais non. Car son angoisse élut pour confident

In this version, though it may appear unusual to find as the subject of 'élut' the abstract 'angoisse', there is no problem of meaning. The syntactical structure is clear enough and, furthermore, is not an invention of Mallarmé. One would no doubt find many examples in Racine. The problem is more complex in C, however, where

the noun is reduced to the nominal 'tel', itself preceded by an unusual adjective, and where the causal relationship provided in B by 'car' is dropped. Mallarmé transfers the 'asse' sound of 'angoisse' to 'bast' and inverts that of '...non. Car...' to produce 'arcané'. A similar inversion of 'élu' is provided by 'tel'. The basic word-order is retained but, within it, Mallarmé gives a greater autonomy to sound. The disruption which such procedures inflict upon conventional, discursive language forces the reader to apply an unusual degree of attention to each element of the line. Only then is it possible to recreate the synthesis which the poet intends. This desire to dislocate syntax, to remove a linguistic unit from its usual context and, by transferring to another its sound or meaning (or a combination of both), in order to widen its potential for evocation, is a feature of the variations which the poet brings to the different versions. The changes are never gratuitous but result from the desire to show the relationship between the faun's sensuality and his effort to sublimate this through art. Sensuality provides art's relationship to nature by being a source for both; art, in turn, spiritualizes sensuality, enabling it to transcend the ephemeral. Mallarmé's description of Manet's painting leaves one in no doubt that he interpreted the painter's work in this way. Its importance, however, is not limited to thematic considerations alone. In his expression of open air, Manet had confronted flat, uniform tints and flattened space by use of a high view-point which cuts off the painting's background. In 'En Bateau', the water stretches from the left foreground to the top of the pain-

ting.<sup>54</sup> In 'Le Linge', the foliage performs the same function. This release of colour and space from academic conventions can only have encouraged Mallarmé to experiment with syntax in the same way. 'L'Après-midi d'un faune' seems to me, in its 1876 form, to result, in part at least, from this experimentation. Given the poet's release of language from conventional linguistic situations, his fragmentation of sentence structure in favour of a context in which sounds and meanings interpenetrate, it is small wonder that he considered open air as the 'beginning and end of the question we are now studying'.

Having recounted the escape of the nymphs, the faun, torn by desire and frustration and remembering that he is near Etna, home of Vulcan, God of Fire, decides to capture Venus. This desire for sexual possession is fairly explicit, for the first faun is led by recollection of his surroundings to compare his passion to an erupting volcano, symbol of orgasm, while the introduction of Venus upon Etna is an unmistakable reference to the 'mont de Vénus'. This momentary blasphemy and the fear of divine retribution which follows but which proves unfounded are present from 1864 onwards. Thus, in the first version, we read:

Mon corps, que dans l'enfance Eros illumina,  
Répand presque les feux rouges du vieil Etna! (A.93-4)

This fairly trite metaphor with its banal address to classical mythology is replaced in B by an evocation of a general law of nature, whose terms of reference remain historical:

Et notre sang jaloux de qui le vient saisir  
Altère tout le vol ancien du désir. (B.97-8)

In C, Mallarmé makes one major change:

Et notre sang, épris de qui le va saisir,  
Coule pour tout l'essaim éternel du désir. (C.97-8)

From a specific, mythological past to a generalized history and, from here, to an eternal present, Mallarmé passes from an individual emotion to a general law of nature, just as Manet had endeavoured 'to impress upon his work a natural and a general law'.<sup>55</sup> He does not, however, abandon the original reference to the 'feux rouges du vieil Etna'. In C, they reappear, but only after they have been filtered by the poet's new Impressionism:

A l'heure où ce bois d'or et de cendres se teinte  
Une fête s'exalte en la feuillée éteinte:  
Etna! c'est parmi toi visité de Vénus  
Sur ta lave posant ses talons ingénus,  
Quand tonne un somme triste ou s'épuise la flamme.  
Je tiens la reine!

O sûr châtimement... (C.99-104)

Repeating the process seen above in relation to the 'confident des fuites', Mallarmé separates the colour from its source. No longer the volcano's direct attribute, the colour refers to Etna only indirectly. Colour in C is presented as a reflection upon the leaves of the glow of evening. Only then is glimpsed the relationship between this glow on the point of disappearance and the volcano, whose new relationship to the colour is one of reflection of a reflection. No sooner does Mallarmé dematerialize the volcano in this way than he presents it concretely in another for in C, the volcano no longer serves simply as the second term of a classical metaphor to illustrate the faun's violent passion but is addressed directly by the faun with the words, 'Etna! c'est parmi toi...' <sup>56</sup> As

the site of Venus's apparition, Etna occupies in C a privileged position which the poet strengthens still further by placing the noun 'fête' at the head of the preceding line.<sup>57</sup> This word, in B, was placed in the middle of the line which follows the introduction of Venus and referred to the volcano's force, symbol of the Goddess's sensual desires. In C, it no longer fulfills this metaphorical function but instead denotes a scarcely-visible movement in the leaves, trembling with jubilation at the visit from the Goddess of Love. We are thus given the golden colour of sunset and the trembling movement of the leaves as sole announcement of her arrival. The sequence of events follows faithfully the unfolding visual sensation, for the sensory stimuli of movement, form and colour precede recognition. By the time the faun pronounces the name of Etna, Venus seems to him to be already present - 'c'est parmi toi visité de Vénus'<sup>58</sup> - an impression strengthened by the repetition of 't', 'a' and 'l' in:

Sur ta lave posant ses talons ingénus, (C.102)

Having created in the faun this increased sense of the reality of his impression, Mallarmé changes the 'Si!..' of A and 'Si je la... of B into 'Je tiens la reine!' of C, where a greater sense of certainty is accompanied by a corresponding increase in the certainty of punishment - 'Mais ne suis-je pas foudroyé? (A), 'Suis-je pas châtié? (B), 'O sûr châtiment...' (C) - and in the release of tension when the faun's worst fears are not confirmed:

Non: ces closes  
(Se laissant choir.)  
Paupières et mon corps de plaisir allourdi (A.100-1)

Non, mais l'âme  
De paroles vacante et ce corps alourdi (C.104-5)

It would not be difficult to prolong this examination of the textual alterations made in the poem between 1874 and the end of the following year. To do so would only confirm the real reason for Mallarmé's great interest in Manet's painting. It is not sufficient to speak of literary allusionism or of theories of sensation. Mallarmé saw in this painting a means to repair what he considered to be a fundamental deficiency in existing attitudes to poetic language, namely, their failure to distinguish adequately the 'double état de la parole':

...mon sens regrette que le discours défaille à exprimer les objets par des touches y répondant en coloris ou en allure....A côté d'ombre', opaque, 'ténèbres' se fonce peu; quelle déception, devant la perversité conférant à 'jour' comme à 'nuit', contradictoirement, des timbres obscur ici, là clair....Seulement, sachons, n'existerait pas le vers: lui, philosophiquement rémunère le défaut des langues, complément supérieur. /Mallarmé's italics/.

(S. Mallarmé: 'Crise de vers', p.364).

As far as Mallarmé was concerned, these lines would also have summed up Manet's contribution to painting. He had taken back from the Academy the pictorial language which it had extinguished and he had breathed new life into it. In his return to the origins of painting, he had reunited man with his spiritual source and this, in the most material of arts and through colour, the most material of art's tools. Mallarmé marvelled at the achievement and both poem and article are, in a sense, his tribute to it.

These few years mark the high point of the poet's involvement with painting. Before 1873, his interest

is superficial, his approach uninformed. After 1876, his discovery fully assimilated, he would never again draw upon sources outside his own art-form in the same way. His approach to Manet is not doctrinal nor systematic, for he took from his painting only those elements which helped him with his problem of the nature of poetic language. Still less is his method historical, despite appearances to the contrary, for if he described the pictorial tradition to which Manet belonged and the stylistic features which distinguished him from his fellow-Impressionists, he did so only in order to emphasize Manet's unique role, his exemplary status in the history of art. It would be true to say, in fact, that his admiration for the painter prevented him from fully coming to terms with any other. His attitude to painting is dominated by his sense of Manet's achievement,<sup>59</sup> which those aspects of 'Post-Impressionism' through which Mallarmé lived can only have served to heighten in the poet's mind. Ten years later, Gauguin might scoff at the idea of a pure, objective transcription of nature and proclaim the need for a synthesis of nature and the artist's emotion. Monet might, in his cathedral and haystack series, attain a visual sharpness so acute as to annul the distinction between naturalist intention and symbolist realization. As far as Mallarmé was concerned, both bore witness to the work of Manet for both directions were implicit in 'Le Linge'.<sup>60</sup> The subjective via the objective, the eternal via the instantaneous, in short, the paradox of Impressionism, Mallarmé had gone straight to it. When he described Manet's 'plein-airisme' as the 'beginning and end of the question', he had intended to be



taken literally.

In his 1863 article upon Delacroix, Baudelaire had written that one of the outstanding features of nineteenth-century art in France was that 'les arts aspirent, sinon à se suppléer l'un l'autre, du moins à se prêter réciproquement des forces nouvelles'.<sup>61</sup> Whatever the value of these remarks to a study of Delacroix, they are, through their moderation, a sound methodological caution to the critic. Terms such as 'impressionist' are imprecise enough when applied to painters as diverse as Monet and Degas. Transferred to poets, they can become a positive nuisance - a form of verbal mystification which pre-empts analysis. Each example of a poet's contact with painting creates anew the problem of determining the precise nature and effect of the 'new force' which the poet is seeking outside of his own art-form. In the case of Verlaine, Impressionism may have inspired or simply confirmed a tendency to use the brief descriptive element as sole constituent of the poem and to refuse, by the same process, the intellectual organization of his sensation.<sup>62</sup> For Mallarmé, preoccupied as he was with structure,<sup>63</sup> such painting meant something quite different. The fact that two poets with such different approaches to poetry should each attribute such importance to Manet should of itself be a warning to the critic not to substitute labels for analysis. In Mallarmé's return to the source of his art, interpretation of the sensation, penetration of its secret, was fundamental. His theory of the symbol in poetry rested upon it.

The fortune of 'L'Après-midi d'un

faune' in the decade which followed its publication is well-known.<sup>64</sup> In contrast, we know nothing of the fate of the 1876 article. The poet may, of course, have kept a copy and taken it out on occasions to show it to certain of his Tuesday evening visitors, though we have no evidence that he did. On the other hand, he certainly conveyed to them the spirit of the article, for the admiration in which the Impressionists were held by the symbolist poets is explicable only in terms of the reconciliation between a basically naturalistic method and an idealist philosophy of art which Mallarmé put forward there. Even Aurier, who, in 1891, insisted that the two were irreconcilable, seems at times to be quoting from Mallarmé's article. In his definition of pictorial Symbolism, Aurier, too, defines Gauguin's art as a return to an original naivety of vision. Gauguin too had returned to the source of art in the paradisiac hours of primitive humanity.<sup>65</sup> Mallarmé was less aggressive of course, his words lacked Aurier's ringing militancy but there is no mistaking the basic orientation:

...what can be the aim of a painter before everyday nature? To imitate her? Then his best efforts can never equal the original with the inestimable advantages of life and space. - 'Ah no! this fair face, that green landscape, will grow old and wither, but I shall have them always, true as nature, fair as remembrance, and imperishably my own;

(S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.122).

A synthesis of nature and the artist, the creative role of memory, what Mallarmé called the 'simplification apportée par un regard de voyant' (cf. supra, p.193), Gauguin, in 1888, would claim all of this as his own. In whatever criticism he directed against the

Impressionists, one will not find Manet mentioned.

In his reply to Huret's famous 'enquête', Mallarmé described his attitude to the alexandrine in 'L'Après-midi d'un faune' with a metaphor taken from music. He had tried, he said, to put 'à côté de l'alexandrin dans toute sa tenue, une sorte de jeu courant pianoté autour, comme qui dirait d'un accompagnement musical fait par le poète lui-même et ne permettant au vers officiel de sortir que dans les grandes occasions'.<sup>66</sup> It would be tempting to assimilate the thematic developments in the poem to the structure of musical composition.<sup>67</sup> It is even possible that, in doing so, we would not be distorting the poet's intentions and intentions are, after all, part of what we have been discussing here. Yet it must be remembered that, while, in 1876, Mallarmé had little interest in, and still less direct contact with, music, as opposed to literary and philosophical theories of music, his contact with painting was direct, informed and continual. Qualitatively and quantitatively, his experience of painting was the richer of the two. As the continuation of the tradition established by Baudelaire's defence of Delacroix, Mallarmé's love of Manet's painting entered the mythology of Symbolism. It is to his influence in this direction upon certain of the younger poets that we must now turn.

Notes to Chapter Four.

1. P. Valéry: Oeuvres Tome II, p.1208.

2. For the details of the poem's evolution, see S. Mallarmé: Oeuvres complètes (texte établi et annoté par H. Mondor et G. Jean-Aubry), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1945, pp.1448-66 and H. Mondor: Histoire d'un faune, Paris, Gallimard, 1948. To these, however, must be immediately added the very important qualifications upon the textual accuracy of the Pléiade Mallarmé expressed by C.P. Barbier in: 'La documentation mallarméenne', Colloque Mallarmé (Glasgow, Novembre 1973), Paris, Nizet 1975, pp.37-55. In June 1865, Mallarmé completed the first version of the poem for a performance at the Théâtre Français which never took place. The original manuscript of this 'Monologue d'un faune' has not been found. We have only the fragment, 'Réveil du faune', which closed the original poem and which was first published by H. Charpentier in 1948. For Philippe Burty, who was one of Manet's first defenders and who may have been responsible for the first meeting between poet and painter, Mallarmé wrote a copy of the 'Monologue...', which Mondor, in his edition of the Oeuvres... (p.1450), dated from 1875 but which Barbier, in Vol. IV of the Documents Stéphane Mallarmé (Paris, Nizet, 1973, p.46), in addition to drawing attention to the many inaccuracies of Mondor's 'photocopy' of the manuscript, dated, for reasons of calligraphy, to late 1873 or early 1874. To whichever of these dates corresponds the Burty manuscript (now part of the Fonds Mallarmé, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris, MNR Ms. 1161), it must be remembered that they both fall firmly within the period of Mallarmé's friendship with Manet. In the course of 1875, the poet wrote two further drafts of the poem. The first, 'Improvisation d'un faune', was rejected in July of that year by the editorial committee, composed of France, Coppée and Banville, of the Parnasse contemporain. The Pléiade version of the incomplete

manuscript (at present in the Bibliothèque Martin Bodmer, Coligny, Geneva ) contains one important textual error. In line 5, the adjective, 'nouveaux' appears instead of the correct 'mornes'. The second 1875 version of the poem was that published under the title, 'L'Après-midi d'un faune' by A. Derenne in April 1876 and of which Mallarmé changed only one line for the so-called 'édition définitive', published by La Revue indépendante in 1887. See the Oeuvres complètes, p.1462. The 1875 manuscript of 'L'Après-midi...' has never been found.

In this chapter, the Burty manuscript, as published in the Documents... will be referred to as the first version (A), 'Improvisation...' in Oeuvres complètes pp.1456-8, as the second (B) and 'L'Après-midi...' published in 1876 by Derenne as the third (C).

3. See L.J. Austin: 'L'Après-midi d'un faune' de Stéphane Mallarmé: Lexique comparé des trois états du poème' in: Studi in onore de Carlo Pellegrini, Turin , Società editrice internazionale, 1963, pp.733-8.

4. T. Duret's remark that 'Manet vit venir vers lui en 1873 le poète Stéphane Mallarmé' (T. Duret: Histoire d'Edouard Manet et de son oeuvre, Paris, Floury, 1902, p.90) is accepted by all historians of the two artists. Unfortunately, we have no information as to the exact circumstances or date of their first meeting. Burty may have arranged it (cf., supra, note 2) or, as Manet's grand-nephew, M. D. Rouart, kindly suggested to me, Charles Cros may have been responsible by introducing Manet into the salon of Nina de Callias, whom Mallarmé, along with many others writers, frequented. The editors of the Oeuvres complètes situate this first meeting towards the end of April 1873, while, most recently, R. Bellour (Magazine littéraire, n°96, Janvier 1975, p.11) suggests, though without giving any proof, the month of August, which seems unlikely, since Manet spent this month at Bercy-sur-mèr, while Mallarmé was over 200 miles away in Douarnenez. Yet Mallarmé's interest in Manet's work may have preceded, by as much as ten years,

his first meeting with the painter, for on 14 September 1862, Baudelaire published his first study of Manet's work, 'Peintres et aqua-fortistes', in Le Boulevard (Tome 1, n°37), the same review from which Mallarmé, in January of the same year, had copied seven of Baudelaire's poems. The reason for the delay between Mallarmé's initial interest in Manet's art and his sudden sense of its importance is perhaps to be found in the shortcomings in Poe's theory of poetic language of which Mallarmé became conscious from 1872 (See J. Scherer: L'Expression littéraire dans l'oeuvre de Mallarmé, Paris, Nizet, 1947, p.224). Before meeting Manet, the poet had been a great friend of the painter H. Régnault (Prix de Rome, 1866) and it is well-known that Régnault's death in the battle of Buzenval, 19 January 1871, came as a terrible shock to Mallarmé. A. Duparc, in his edition of Régnault's correspondence (Paris, Charpentier, 1872), published five letters from the painter to Mallarmé, the second of which is of outstanding interest, for here (p.8), the painter wrote:

Moi aussi, je suis un maniaque! Je ne sais si c'est à force d'approfondir l'art, cette langue si riche et infinie, mais je prends en grippe la langue de tous les jours et de tout le monde. Il faudrait vraiment pour les artistes et les poètes des demeures au-dessus des nuages où, dans leurs crises de folie, ils viendraient tout oublier et se perdre dans la pureté qui planerait sur eux.

There can be little doubt in my view that Mallarmé, following Régnault's death, transferred the intense sense of kinship which this letter reveals into his relationship with Manet. As for this relationship upon a purely human level, nothing has been written to equal the remarks of T. Natanson in: 'Edouard Manet d'après Mallarmé', Peints à leur tour, Paris, Albin Michel, 1948, pp.94-109.

5. S. Mallarmé: Autobiographie. Lettre à Verlaine (avant-dire du Dr. E. Bonniot), Paris, A. Messein, 1924, fac-sim.

6. A. Gill, in: 'Mallarmé's Use of Christian Imagery for Post-Christian Concepts' (in: E.M. Beaumont, J.M. Cocking and J. Cruick-

shank (eds.): Order and Adventure in Post-Romantic French Poetry. Essays Presented to C.A. Hackett, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1973, pp.72-88), suggests possible visual sources for Mallarmé's Christian imagery. The juxtaposition of poems and paintings sounds fairly convincing, though unverifiable. Basically, however, this is not the most important aspect of Mallarmé's involvement with painting.

7. Mallarmé's first article on Manet, 'Le jury de peinture pour 1874 et M. Manet', was written between 24 March 1874 (the date of the jury's decision to exclude two of the three paintings submitted by Manet) and 12 April of the same year, when the article appeared in La Renaissance artistique et littéraire (3e année, n°13, pp.155-7). Manet thanked the poet in the following terms:

Mon cher ami, Merci. Si j'avais quelques défenseurs comme vous, je me f...absolument du jury. Tout à vous.  
Ed. Manet.

(In: S. Mallarmé: Correspondance Tome II 1871-1885 (recueillie, classée et annotée par H. Mondor et L.J. Austin), Paris, Gallimard, 1965, pp.44-5).

The French original of the second article, 'The Impressionists...', has not been found, though an abridged re-translation into French by M. Barthelme was published in La Nouvelle revue française of 1 August 1959 (Tome 14, n°80, pp.375-84). It goes without saying that the English version, with the problems which it poses, is nevertheless to be preferred to the French re-translation.

Of those critics who have studied the problem of Mallarmé's interest in painting, J.-P. Richard, in: L'Univers imaginaire de Mallarmé (Paris, Le Seuil, 1961, pp.469-85 and 503-8) seems to me to be alone in appreciating the full importance of Manet and the Impressionists for Mallarmé. Richard does not, however, relate his remarks sufficiently closely to Mallarmé's poetry and does not undertake the sort of comparison between the poet's articles and individual poems which is my purpose here. It was perhaps inevitable that after work of such outstanding interest as that of Richard,

subsequent studies should appear to add little to the problem. J. C. Harris, in: 'A Little-Known Essay on Manet by Stéphane Mallarmé' (The Art Bulletin, Vol. XLVI, n°4, December 1964, pp.559-63), while quite rightly expressing surprise at the lack of critical attention paid to the 1876 article, nevertheless seems to me to limit its scope by considering it as a theory of 'modernité' based upon Baudelaire's article on Constantin Guys. K. Berger, in: 'Mallarmé and the Visual Arts' (in: Les Mardis - Stéphane Mallarmé and the Artists of his Circle, Univ. of Kansas Museum of Art, 1965, pp.51-8), makes a few general comments upon the poet's friendship with certain painters but concludes that any direct influence of painting upon Mallarmé is out of the question 'on account of the basic difference between the arts of language and painting' (p.55), a very narrow way of interpreting the problem. W. Fowlie, in: 'Mallarmé and the Painters...', takes over, though without developing, the parallel between Mallarmé and Cézanne which was first made by D. Kahnweiler in: 'Mallarmé et la peinture' (Les Lettres, Tome III, n°9-11 (numéro spécial), 1948, pp.63-8) but otherwise provides little more than an English translation of anecdotes gleaned from Mallarmé, Mauguier and Mondor, among others. On the biographical level, the most interesting articles are those of L.J. Austin, 'Mallarmé and the Visual Arts' and 'Mallarmé critique d'art', to which reference has already been made in other contexts (cf. supra, pp.41 note 3 and 112 note 64).

None of the studies mentioned attempt to show the way in which contact with Manet's painting contributed to the sort of poetry which Mallarmé wrote.

8. 'Sans doute, il serait téméraire de rechercher des influences précises de la peinture sur Mallarmé et sur Valéry, encore que Victor Hugo ait appelé "mon cher poète impressionniste" l'auteur de "L'Après-midi d'un faune"' (L.J. Austin: L'Univers poétique..., p. 10). G. Michaud (Message poétique..., p.193), by sharing Mondor's simplistic trust in dates, is able to dismiss 'L'Après-midi...' in two lines, for the poem, in his view, 'n'est que survivance d'une



période antérieure', which is what comes of reading poetry for what it says rather than for the way in which it says it.

9. One has only to think of the importance of the Goncourts from 1860 onwards. Alternatively, G. Contini had Banville in mind when referring to the 'linguistic impressionism' of the 'Monologue...':

Alla visione lineata delle sostanze succede un effetto cromatico e luministico entro quella che nel linguaggio figurativo sarebbe l' 'impression'. Ed è ovvio che le tante volte descritte istituzioni dell' impressionismo linguistico già s'incontrino, quelle almeno che si potevano desumere fin dalle Odes funambulesques, nel 'Monologue!...!....

(The delineated vision of material things gives way to a chromatic and luministic effect, which in figurative language would be the 'impression'. Obviously, in the 'Monologue...', we have already come across the basic tenets of linguistic impressionism, which have been described many times, at least as they may be discerned in poems as early as the Odes funambulesques...).

(G. Contini: 'Sulla trasformazione dell' "Après-midi d' un faune"', L'Immagine, numeri 9-10 (numero speciale: Omaggio a Mallarmé), Agosto-Dicembre 1948, p.507).

It seems to me, however, that such literary models alone are inadequate to explain the alterations which Mallarmé brought to each successive version of the poem.

10. See in this respect J. Lethève: Impressionnistes et symbolistes ..., pp.29-34 and 52-5.

11. S. Mallarmé: 'Le jury de peinture...', p.157.

12. G. Davies in: Les Poèmes commémoratifs de Mallarmé (Paris, José Corti, 1950) was the first to draw attention to this theme. Of 'Toast funèbre', C.P. Barbier recently discovered another manuscript, now in a private collection. See 'La documentation...', pp.48-50.

13. I maintain this in spite of the extensive use which Mallarmé

made, in 'Toast funèbre', of Gautier's own themes and imagery, and which was revealed in detail by L.J. Austin in an excellent article, 'Mallarmé and Gautier: New Light on "Toast funèbre"', in: D.G. Charlton, J. Gaudon and A.R. Pugh (eds.): Balzac and the Nineteenth Century, Studies in French Literature Presented to H.J. Hunt, Leicester, Leicester Univ. Press, 1972, pp.335-51. The poet's development of Gautier's thought and expression does not contradict a private homage to Manet, who, in 1873, was as much in need of moral support as ever. Despite the success of 'Le Bon bock' in the salon of 1873, public hostility to the painter had not ended. On the contrary, his critics, as if to compensate for 'Le Bon bock', attacked his portrait of Berthe Morisot, 'Le Repos' unmercifully. See A. Tabarant: Manet et ses oeuvres, Paris, Gallimard, 1947, p.205. The jury's rejection, the following year, of two of Manet's paintings was proof enough that little had changed.

14. Gautier's repeated attacks upon Manet are well-known. See, for example, Tabarant, op.cit., pp.106-8 and Lethève, loc.cit..

15. S. Mallarmé: Igitur ou la folie d'Elbehnon, in: Oeuvres complètes, p.441.

16. S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.122.

17. S. Mallarmé: 'Le Tombeau d'Edgar Poe' in: Oeuvres complètes, p.70.

18. Though Mallarmé wrote his article only in July 1876, it is important to remember two earlier discussions of 'Le Linge', the central painting of the 1876 article. They are contained in the 'Fine-Art Gossips' of 21 November 1875 and 10 April 1876 which were sent to A. O'Shaughnessy for publication in the Athenaeum. See Les 'Gossips' de Mallarmé: Athenaeum 1875-1876 (textes inédits présentés et annotés par H. Mondor et L.J. Austin), Paris, Galli-

mard, 1962, pp.40-1 and 72. This period is of course also marked by the collaboration of the two artists upon an edition of The Raven by Poe which Mallarmé had translated. Despite Lemerre's remark that the translation offered 'de telles insanités qu'il est impossible à une maison sérieuse de le publier' (S. Mallarmé: Correspondance, Tome II, p.60), it was probably the presence of Manet as illustrator rather than the quality of the translation which provoked the refusal to publish the work.

19. His remarks upon composition (ibid., p.120), upon the lightness or heaviness of brushstroke (ibid., p.119) and upon the regulation of tone (ibid.) are cases in point. His comments upon perspective are interesting in this respect:

If we turn to natural perspective (not that utterly and artificially classic science which makes our eyes the dupes of a civilised education, but rather that artistic perspective which we learn from the extreme East - Japan for example) - and look at these sea-pieces of Manet...

(ibid., p.120).

The sea-scapes in question are 'Argenteuil' and 'En Bateau', to which Mallarmé refers as 'the two "Canotiers"' (ibid., p.119) and which were painted within a few days of one another in the summer of 1874. Mallarmé quite correctly notes the influence upon these paintings of Japanese prints (the abrupt boundaries formed by the frame, the diagonals which cross the upper corners etc.). Three years later, Huysmans, discussing 'En Bateau' in his review of the salon of 1879, made the same point:

Sa femme, vêtue de bleu, assise dans une barque coupée par le cadre comme dans certaines planches des Japonais, est bien posée en pleine lumière.

(J.-K. Huysmans: L'Art moderne, pp.35-6.

At another point in the article, Mallarmé describes Manet's aim as 'not to make a momentary escapade or sensation' (p.119), which I interpret as a statement of the poet's sense of Manet's superiority over even Impressionists such as Monet, Pissarro etc., much as the poet admired these painters 'dont quelques-uns sont des êtres miraculeusement doués...' (S. Mallarmé: Correspondance, Tome II,

mard, 1962, pp.40-1 and 72. This period is of course also marked by the collaboration of the two artists upon an edition of The Raven by Poe which Mallarmé had translated. Despite Lemerre's remark that the translation offered 'de telles insanités qu'il est impossible à une maison sérieuse de le publier' (S. Mallarmé: Correspondance, Tome II, p.60), it was probably the presence of Manet as illustrator rather than the quality of the translation which provoked the refusal to publish the work.

19. His remarks upon composition (ibid., p.120), upon the lightness or heaviness of brushstroke (ibid., p.119) and upon the regulation of tone (ibid.) are cases in point. His comments upon perspective are interesting in this respect:

If we turn to natural perspective (not that utterly and artificially classic science which makes our eyes the dupes of a civilized education, but rather that artistic perspective which we learn from the extreme East - Japan for example) - and look at these sea-pieces of Manet...

(ibid., p.120).

The sea-scapes in question are 'Argenteuil' and 'En Bateau', to which Mallarmé refers as 'the two "Canotiers"' (ibid., p.119) and which were painted within a few days of one another in the summer of 1874. Mallarmé quite correctly notes the influence upon these paintings of Japanese prints (the abrupt boundaries formed by the frame, the diagonals which cross the upper corners etc.). Three years later, Huysmans, discussing 'En Bateau' in his review of the salon of 1879, made the same point:

Sa femme, vêtue de bleu, assise dans une barque coupée par le cadre comme dans certaines planches des Japonais, est bien posée en pleine lumière.

(J.-K. Huysmans: L'Art moderne, pp.35-6.

At another point in the article, Mallarmé describes Manet's aim as 'not to make a momentary escapade or sensation' (p.119), which I interpret as a statement of the poet's sense of Manet's superiority over even Impressionists such as Monet, Pissarro etc., much as the poet admired these painters 'dont quelques-uns sont des êtres miraculeusement doués...' (S. Mallarmé: Correspondance, Tome II,

pp.174-5). I therefore disagree with the remarks of Harris (op. cit., p.561) who considers Mallarmé's remark to be a criticism of earlier Manet works such as 'Olympia'.

20. Compare also Mallarmé's view that 'the hand should become an impersonal abstraction...' ('The Impressionists...', p.118), and that, as for the artist, 'his personal feeling, his peculiar tastes, are for the time absorbed, ignored, or set aside...' (ibid.). E. Bonniot, who married Mallarmé's daughter, Geneviève, later gave, in his recollections of Mallarmé's 'mardis', the following account of Mallarmé's love of Manet and the Impressionists:

...exquis aperçus sur la peinture contemporaine: les impressionnistes le séduisent parce que leur esthétique est près de la sienne. Ils laissent devenir plus qu'ils n'expriment. Le souvenir de Manet plane à ce moment sur sa bouche. Whistler est l'artiste qui vise à ce que tout ce qui sort de lui soit un chef-d'oeuvre. Cela ne veut pas dire, selon lui, la perfection, (où est-elle?) mais une oeuvre telle que l'artiste après l'avoir conçue, ne l'abandonne que lui sentant un caractère aussi grand que possible d'impersonnalité. [Bonniot's italics].

(E. Bonniot: 'Notes sur les mardis', Les Marges, Tome LVII, n°224, 10 janvier 1936, p.12).

On the same occasion, Bonniot recalled Mallarmé's remark that 'dans Gautier, le mot acquiert toute sa valeur et semble vraiment impersonnel' (ibid., p.17). This strengthens the Gautier-Manet link which I believe to be present in 'Toast funèbre'.

21. cf. supra, chap.II, p.110, note 49.

22. S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.119.

23. Richard (op.cit., pp.113-4 and 139-40) has some very interesting remarks upon this theme. He does not, however, refer to the 1876 article.

24. Mallarmé's reference to Velasquez is important. Critical reaction to Manet tended to swing between two extreme positions: one

which held that his work was merely a clumsy plagiarism of Goya and Velasquez (cf: G.H. Hamilton: Manet and his Critics, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1954, p.27), the other **that** Manet was so original as to be outside of any pictorial tradition:

On a cherché comme toujours des ancêtres à M. Manet, on a dit qu'il s'inspirait de Goya. Goya étant dans son genre, fort original et même fantasque, c'est sans doute pour cela que les personnes qui se plaisent à accuser Manet d'extravagance aiment à le faire venir de Goya; mais rien n'est moins vrai, et, en définitive, M. Manet est absolument lui...

(T. Duret: 'Le Salon. IV. Edouard Manet', L'Electeur libre, 2e année, n°64, 9 juin 1870, p.92).

A similar rejection of influences in Manet characterises Zola's praise of the painter. In comparison, Mallarmé's 1876 article contains a more informed approach; his reference to Velasquez, the Flemish school, Japanese prints (cf. supra, note 19) and to what he calls Manet's 'transitional period' ('The Impressionists...', p.118) represents, in 1876, certainly the most complete appraisal of Manet available. Strangely, Hamilton (op.cit) dismisses it.

25. S. Mallarmé: 'It is precisely these two aspects which reveal the truth...' (ibid.).

26. See Richard, op.cit., pp.185, 231-2, 293 and 509. In the Colloque Mallarmé (op.cit., pp.25-6), C.P. Barbier dismissed the possibility of any influence of Hegel upon Mallarmé:

Je doute fort que Mallarmé ait jamais lu Hegel et rien ne fait penser qu'un ouvrage du philosophe se trouvait dans sa bibliothèque.

to which A. Gill rightly remarked that 'in the nineteenth century it was possible to make quite a large use of Hegel without reading him' (ibid., p.26). Another example of this is provided by the symbolist poets, all of whom continually referred to Schopenhauer but few of whom can have actually read him.

27. S. Mallarmé: 'Air reigns supreme and real, as if it held an enchanted life conferred by the witchery of art' ('The Impressionists...')

p.119).

28. Thus, for Mallarmé, the details of the painting 'are only seen in passing...' and 'cannot be supposed always to look the same...', yet the finished work 'palpitates with movement, light and life' ('The Impressionists...', p.119).

29. Similarly, the poet later wrote:

Cet oeil - Manet - d'une enfance de lignée vieille  
citadine, neuf, sur un objet, les personnes posé,  
vierge et abstrait, gardait naguères l'immédiate frai-  
cheur de la rencontre, aux griffes d'un rire du regard,  
à narguer, dans la pose, ensuite, les fatigues de  
vingtième séance.

(S. Mallarmé: 'Edouard Manet' in: Oeuvres complètes,  
p.532).

The synthesis of immediacy and abstraction was Mallarmé's answer to those critics who dismissed the work of Manet and the Impressionists as unfinished sketches. Already in 1874, he had argued:

Qu'est-ce qu'une oeuvre 'pas assez poussée' alors qu'il  
y a entre tous ses éléments, un accord par quoi elle se  
tient, et possède un charme facile à rompre par une  
touche ajoutée?

(S. Mallarmé: 'Le jury de peinture...', p.156).

30. S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.118.

31. This reference to the 'regard de voyant' invariably evokes the letter in which Mallarmé praises Gautier, 'le voyant qui, placé dans ce monde, l'a regardé...' (cf. supra, p.182). The poet's insistence upon the need to observe weakens somewhat the neat, academic distinctions between Realism and Idealism which critics invoke to dismiss the relationship between Impressionism and Mallarmé.

32. S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.119.

33. S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.122. Two years before, Mallarmé described the academic salon painter Baudry as 'un faiseur

p.119).

28. Thus, for Mallarmé, the details of the painting 'are only seen in passing...' and 'cannot be supposed always to look the same...', yet the finished work 'palpitates with movement, light and life' ('The Impressionists...', p.119).

29. Similarly, the poet later wrote:

Cet oeil - Manet - d'une enfance de lignée vieille  
citadine, neuf, sur un objet, les personnes posé,  
vierge et abstrait, gardait naguères l'immédiate frai-  
cheur de la rencontre, aux griffes d'un rire du regard,  
à narguer, dans la pose, ensuite, les fatigues de  
vingtième séance.

(S. Mallarmé: 'Edouard Manet' in: Oeuvres complètes,  
p.532).

The synthesis of immediacy and abstraction was Mallarmé's answer to those critics who dismissed the work of Manet and the Impressionists as unfinished sketches. Already in 1874, he had argued:

Qu'est-ce qu'une oeuvre 'pas assez poussée' alors qu'il  
y a entre tous ses éléments, un accord par quoi elle se  
tient, et possède un charme facile à rompre par une  
touche ajoutée?

(S. Mallarmé: 'Le jury de peinture...', p.156).

30. S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.118.

31. This reference to the 'regard de voyant' invariably evokes the letter in which Mallarmé praises Gautier, 'le voyant qui, placé dans ce monde, l'a regardé...' (cf. supra, p.182). The poet's insistence upon the need to observe weakens somewhat the neat, academic distinctions between Realism and Idealism which critics invoke to dismiss the relationship between Impressionism and Mallarmé.

32. S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.119.

33. S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.122. Two years before, Mallarmé described the academic salon painter Baudry as 'un faiseur



de plafonds qui, quoique de l'école, a su, au modèle général et presque abstrait de la Beauté traditionnelle, substituer les Types que nous voyons à tout instant surgir d'une loge ou d'une voiture ainsi que la perfection variée ou se pencher au bal sur une épaule, mais toujours projeter très-loin ce regard qui rêve, à quoi? à la perpétuité dans quelque ciel supérieur et idéal...' (S. Mallarmé: 'La dernière mode' in: Oeuvres complètes, p.735). The lines form part of the poet's review of Baudry's 'Exposition des toiles décoratives', painted for the new Opéra building. In 'The Impressionists...', Mallarmé refers to 'the bold decorative effects of Henri Régnault' (p.117) as a modern movement parallel to that of Manet and his followers. This interrelationship of type and decorative element, of structure and modernity is repeated in a letter of 8 January 1878 to Léon Valade, in which Mallarmé wrote:

Je m'intéresse surtout aux oeuvres poétiques comme qui dirait décoratives, c'est-à-dire formant un ensemble spécial et adapté aux besoins modernes. [Mallarmé's italics].

(in: J.-P. Richard, op.cit., p.461).

Gauguin's later attribution of a central place to the decorative element in his modern synthesis of artist and nature is fully anticipated here.

34. J. Scherer (op.cit., pp.225-6) states that 'l'année 1874 est décisive dans l'évolution de la technique de Mallarmé'. While not wishing to dispute this remark, I cannot accept Scherer's reasons for making it, for, after stating that Mallarmé was, at this time, increasingly abandoning Poe's technique of repetition, Scherer attributes Mallarmé's breakthrough in syntax exclusively to La Dernière mode:

Cette oeuvre légère revêt une importance capitale pour la fixation des tendances de Mallarmé devant le langage.

(ibid., p.226).

While there is no doubting the interest of this review, it must not be forgotten that the first issue postdates Mallarmé's initial meeting with Manet by eighteen months and that the apology of mod-

ernism which it contains is already fully present in the poet's enthusiasm for Manet and the impressionist group. At another point in his book, Scherer seems to sense the importance for Mallarmé of these painters when he says:

Il n'est pas impossible que les idées de Mallarmé sur la structure de la phrase, définies dès sa jeunesse par son attitude de méfiance vis-à-vis du verbe, aient été renforcées par l'épanouissement de l'école impressionniste de peinture...

(ibid., p.169).

Having said this, however, the author does not take the matter any further.

35. S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.122).

36. The poet's most famous definition of this theory of language is contained in the following:

Un désir indéniable à mon temps est de séparer comme en vue d'attributions différentes le double état de la parole, brut ou immédiat ici, là essentiel.

(S. Mallarmé: 'Crise de vers', p.368).

37. cf. supra, note 29.

38. S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.118.

39. In his brochure on the Impressionists, T. Duret enumerated Manet's defenders:

Il y a d'abord des critiques tels que Burty, Castagnary, Chesneau, Duranty qui n'ont jamais passé dans le monde des arts pour de mauvais juges, puis des littérateurs comme Alphonse Daudet, d'Hervilly, Zola.

(T. Duret: Les Peintres impressionnistes, Paris, Librairie Parisienne, 1878, p.8).

In 1878, Duret cannot possibly have been unaware of Mallarmé's two articles in defence of Manet. The poet's absence from Duret's list is explicable only by Mallarmé's utter lack of publicity

value. On this score, the poet himself had no illusions. Thirteen years later, when Morice requested Mallarmé's intervention on behalf of Gauguin, the poet immediately contacted Octave Mirbeau who he was sure would reach a wider audience than himself. In that, he was probably right. See S. Mallarmé: Correspondance Tome IV, p.176.

40. At this point, we must return to questions of chronology. On 28 July 1875, Mallarmé informed Mendès of the refusal, by the jury of the Parnasse contemporain, to publish 'Improvisation...' (B) (cf. S. Mallarmé: Correspondance, Tome II, p.65) On 7 November, he told O'Shaughnessy that he had found an editor willing to publish 'L'Après-midi...' (C) but without specifying whether the poem, in its 1876 form, had already been sent off (ibid., p.80). This would be confirmed only two weeks later, on 21 November, in another letter to the same correspondent (ibid., p.85). The alterations made between versions B and C can, therefore, be situated with certainty only between the dates of 28 July and 20 November 1875. If we remember that the poet left for London on 15 August, three weeks after Lemerre's refusal to publish 'Improvisation...', we may be closer to understanding three references in his correspondence of this period to a chore which the editors of his correspondence have been unable to explain. In a letter to J. Ingram, dated 6 August (ibid., pp.65-6), Mallarmé complains that he is 'surchargé par une besogne qu'il me faut achever auparavant' (i.e. before his departure for England). Five days later, he writes again to Ingram to say that he is 'occupé par une tâche à livrer à heure dite' (ibid., p.67). On the fourteenth, he tells Cladel that he is 'désolé de partir aussi vite, exténué; et à peine une besogne, qui m'a cloîtré, nuit et jour, depuis un mois, finie et oubliée' (ibid., p.68). H. Mondor and L.J Austin (ibid., p.67) suggest that Mallarmé is striving to meet some as yet unexplained journalistic deadline, whereas it seems possible that the poet is in fact referring to 'L'Après-midi...', upon the 1876 version of which he was, I suggest, hard at work during this period. It is not possible to say with certainty, however, that the poem as it appeared on 27 April

1876 was therefore established on 14 August 1875 for what Mallarmé called 'finie et oubliée' before the summer vacation may have appeared unfinished and unsatisfactory upon his return. On 12 September, in a letter to A. Ricot, the poet describes himself as 'installé, pour quelques jours, dans un petit village au bord de la mer' (ibid., p.71). Seven days later, he heard from Manet the first reference to 'Le Linge':

J'ai de grands projets dont je vous ferai part à votre retour. Le temps me favorise et je travaille le matin sans relâche, espérant du beau temps jusqu'à la fin de septembre. Mme Lecouvé y met beaucoup de bonne volonté.

(E. Manet in: A. Tabarant, op.cit., p.272).

Mme Lecouvé was the model for the painting. The garden which we see there was situated literally across the street from Mallarmé's home in the rue de Rome, for the painter, Alphonse Hirsch, who lived at n°58, had placed his small garden at Manet's disposition for the painting. The work was well advanced by the first week of October when Manet left for Venice and Mallarmé returned to Paris. Whether the two artists met briefly before Manet's departure is unknown but even if the painter had already left by the time Mallarmé returned, it seems very likely that the poet would have gone immediately to see the painting, all the more so as it had presumably remained in Hirsch's home just over the road during Manet's absence from Paris. Mallarmé immediately considered it Manet's most important painting to date, and referred to it in the *Fine-Art Gossip* published on 21 November 1875 and, therefore, written some time before.

To resume, therefore, this too-long note: though we lack documentary evidence which would settle the matter, I should like to suggest that Mallarmé began his revision of 'Improvisation...' before leaving for London and finished it some time between early October and mid-November 1875, after discovering 'Le Linge', 'a work which marks a date in a life-time perhaps, but certainly one in the history of art' (S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.119).

41. In addition to L.J. Austin: 'Lexique comparé...' and Contini,

op.cit., see also E. Noulet: L'Oeuvre poétique de Stéphane Mallarmé, (Paris, Droz, 1947, pp.228-47) for an interesting analysis of the changes between versions A and C. (At the time of writing her book, Noulet was unaware of the existence of 'Improvisation ...'). T. Munro in '"The Afternoon of a Faun" and the Interrelation of the Arts', (Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol.X, n°2, December 1951, pp.97-111) discusses the ways in which the poem was interpreted by Manet, Debussy, Nijinsky, Bakst and Diaghilev, but there exists, to my knowledge, no study which attempts to relate the alterations which the poet made to an influence of Manet's painting.

42. One critic, however, expressed the opposite view according to which the subject of the poem would be not the triumph, but the defeat, of art, the victory of the Faun-lover over the Faun-musician. See H.J. Smith: 'Mallarmé's Faun: Hero or Anti-Hero?' Romanic Review, Vol.LXIV, n°2, March 1973, pp.111-24.

43. The verb, 'émerveiller' contains the double meaning of 'surprise' and 'render marvellous' (i.e. through art). We remember Mallarmé's reference to Manet's art in terms of 'an enchanted life' (cf. supra, note 27). In C, the poet replaced 'émerveiller' with 'perpétuer', an even clearer reference to the final destination of the initial sensuous experience.

44. See P. Valéry: 'Triomphe de Manet' in: Oeuvres, Tome II, p.1331.

45. In A, the lily was simply the reed's accomplice. In B, the idea is still not clearly worked out in the poet's mind and the changes between B and C are very significant in this respect. 'De ma langueur première' (B) becomes 'à la ferveur première' (C) and 'sous un flot d'ironique lumière' (B) becomes 'sous un flot antique de lumière' (C), both alterations embodying the theme of the return to the source of nature through art, which was absent

from A. For a different interpretation of these lines, see A.R. Chisholm: 'L'Après-midi d'un faune: exégèse et étude critique, Brussels, Jacques Antoine, 1974, p.24. Huysmans was, of course, the first (in A Rebours, p.262) to see the lily as a phallic symbol. One recent, very interesting development of this theme is that of A. Sonnenfeld: 'Eros and Poetry: Mallarmé's Disappearing Visions' in: E.M. Beaumont...(eds.): Order and Adventure..., pp.89-98.

46. cf. supra, p.195. E. Noulet (op.cit., p.236) defines this purity as 'l'étonnement émerveillé de regards neufs' and this, without any reference to Mallarmé's 1876 article or to Manet. It should be clear that I agree with her definition. The 'purity' in question is precisely that of Manet's 'just and pure eyes' (S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.119.

47. G. Poulet: Etudes sur le temps humain. II. La Distance intérieure, Paris, Plon, 1952, pp.298-355. Mallarmé's idea is repeated in the key lines:

Ainsi, quand des raisins j'ai sucé la clarté,  
Pour bannir un regret par ma feinte écarté. C.57-8.

L.J. Austin ('Lexique comparé...', p.738) argues that these lines contain the fundamental idea of the poem since they do not change between A and C. This is to overlook one variation in these lines - that which contains precisely this idea of fiction, for in A, the poet had written: 'par le rêve écarté'.

48. S. Mallarmé: 'Notes' in: Oeuvres complètes, p.851. Similarly, Manet is referred to as 'a mighty will' ('The Impressionists...', p.120), while his subject-matter, the aspect, 'only exists by the will of Idea' (ibid., p.122).

49. S. Mallarmé: 'Berthe Morisot', p.536.

50. In B, the 'marécage' is 'sacré' because the faun had been visited there by the God of music. Mallarmé can not have easily

renounced an epithet in which vowel and consonants repeat themselves so successfully.

51. cf. *supra*, p.192.

52. Between A and C, we find a progressive decrease in Mallarmé's use of verbs in the imperfect and perfect tenses (19 in A, 12 in B, 12 in C) and a corresponding increase in the use of infinitives (A 12, B 15, C 18) and past participles (A 19, B 22, C 23).

53. In a letter of 27 March 1884 to Léon Hennique in which he praised the latter's Les Héros modernes: L'Accident de M. Hébert (Paris, Charpentier, 1883), Mallarmé wrote:

Comme tous vos personnages sont mobiles, le type de chacun distribué à travers toutes les pages du livre, une touche ici, une là, ainsi qu'on se voit en réalité jour à jour! Il n'est pas jusqu'à vos natures mortes, qui, visitées par tous les états différents de la lumière, meubles, toilettes, ne soient comme les visages, bien dans l'air (car il faut toujours en revenir là). [Mallarmé's italics]

(S. Mallarmé: Correspondance, Tome II, p.257).

It is interesting to note that T. Duret in: 'Le salon...' also praised Manet because 'ses personnages sont bien dans l'air' (p.92). It is a detail which confirms the fact that, after the painter's death, 'le souvenir de Manet plane...sur sa bouche' (*cf. supra*, note 20).

54. 'En Bateau' was shown in the impressionist centenary exhibition, held in the Grand Palais, Paris, 21 September - 10 December 1974. In the catalogue, we read the following information provided by C. Moffet:

Repentirs et rayons X révèlent qu'à l'origine l'homme à la barre...tenait la corde de la main droite; en modifiant le sens de la corde, Manet ôta une interprétation logique de la perspective et accrut ainsi davantage l'égalité de surface dans l'espace du tableau.

(Centenaire de l'impressionnisme, Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1974, p.126).

It is precisely alterations such as this which must have seemed so instructive to Mallarmé.

55. S. Mallarmé: 'The Impressionists...', p.119.

56. This theme of a brilliant reflection about to disappear is present only in C. In B, we read:

Par ce morne bois qui des cendres a la teinte B.98.  
where 'ce morne bois' (B) becomes 'ce bois d'or' (C), the vowel sound being retained when the emotional attribute has been dropped. Also, from the line: 'On dit même tout bas que la grande Vénus' (A.97), Mallarmé drops the first five words as obviously too prosaic but re-introduces 'tout bas' in C, this time as the attribute of a kiss:

Le baiser, qui tout bas des perfides assure, C.40.  
Once again, it is difficult not to refer to Manet's alterations in 'En Bateau' (cf. *supra*, note 54).

57. In C, Etna is 'visitée de Vénus'; in B, Venus had been presented as coming down from Etna:

Etna! c'est quand de toi que déserte Vénus, B.101.  
where a transitive verb (B) is replaced by a past participle (C).

58. This is the real reason for the lexical change from B to C.

59. In addition to the remark by Bonniot (cf. *supra*, note 20), T. Natanson (Peints..., p.94) wrote that despite never having known Manet 'il m'a semblé, depuis, avoir presque vécu avec, tant j'en ai entendu parler par Mallarmé'. On the same occasion, Natanson resumed very well the reasons for the poet's love of Manet's art:

Edouard Manet est, pour Mallarmé, le peintre. Entendez celui auquel nul autre ne se peut comparer. Avant tout, sa peinture sera, pour l'écrivain, la première fenêtre ouverte, par autre chose que la poésie, sur la réalité - s'il y a une réalité.

(*ibid.*).



Other contemporaries of Mallarmé who confirmed this aspect of his involvement with painting were Mauclair (Mallarmé chez lui, pp.68-9) and H. de Régnier (Nos Rencontres, Paris, Mercure de France, 1931, p.196).

60. To some extent at least, Monet and Whistler filled the gap left in Mallarmé's life by the death of Manet. Yet even when praising Monet, the reference to Manet is mandatory. In a letter to Monet of June 1888, Mallarmé wrote:

Je sors ébloui de votre travail de cet hiver; il y a longtemps que je mets ce que vous faites au-dessus de tout, mais je vous crois dans votre plus belle heure. Ah! oui, comme aimait à le répéter le pauvre Edouard, Monet a du génie.

(S. Mallarmé: Correspondance, Tome III, p.212).

Similarly, Bonniot ('Notes...', p.16) recounts an excursion made with Mallarmé on 17 October 1893 to Moret in the course of which they met Sisley. Of this painter, Mallarmé remarked that he 'saisit bien les accrocs de lumière sur la pierre, mais ne rend pas le sentiment de sa solidité comme le fera probablement Monet dans sa série des cathédrales de Rouen'. We remember that Mallarmé had described 'Le Linge' in terms of a struggle between the fluidity of light and the solidity of objects (cf. *supra*, p.192).

61. Ch. Baudelaire: 'L'Oeuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix' in: Oeuvres complètes, pp.1116-7.

62. J. Borel, in his introduction to Verlaine's Romances sans paroles (P. Verlaine: Oeuvres poétiques complètes, pp.184-5) suggests that this tendency may have as much to do with Rimbaud as with the Impressionists.

63. We remember the reservations which Mallarmé placed upon his admiration for Zola:

Il a vraiment des qualités puissantes; son sens inouï de la vie, ses mouvements de foule, la peau de Nana,

dont nous avons tous caressé le grain, tout cela peint en de prodigieux lavis, c'est l'oeuvre d'une organisation vraiment admirable! Mais la littérature a quelque chose de plus intellectuel que cela: les choses existent, nous n'avons pas à les créer; nous n'avons qu'à en saisir les rapports; et ce sont les fils de ces rapports qui forment les vèrs et les orchestres.

(S. Mallarmé in: J. Huret: Enquête..., p.64).

This preoccupation with structure is at the heart of Mallarmé's admiration for Manet from the very beginning.

64. The poem's admirers were rather isolated (Kahn, Laforgue and a few others) until Huysmans made of their private admiration a thing of public knowledge with the publication of A Rebours.

65. The terms are Aurier's. See 'Le symbolisme...', p.156.

66. S. Mallarmé in: J. Huret, op.cit., p.62.

67. This has been done once more, very recently, by A.R. Chisholm; op.cit. See also C.S. Brown: 'The Musical Analogies in Mallarmé's "Un Coup de dés"', Comparative Literature Studies, Vol.IV, n°1-2, 1967, pp.66-79. E. Fraenkel in: Les Dessins trans-conscients de Stéphane Mallarmé (Paris, Nizet, 1960) concludes, from an examination of the typographical disposition of 'Un Coup de dés...', that Mallarmé is a 'peintre abstrait qui s'ignore' (p.33).and provides 68 abstract drawings to prove his point. The relationship between Mallarmé and abstract art may well prove to be worth examining, but I do not see how it could be based on typographical considerations alone. 'Un Coup de dés...' certainly is an experiment in typography but that is not all it is.

Chapter Five. Gustave Kahn: Beyond Decadence.<sup>+</sup>

On 4 February 1886, Camille Pissarro, together with Paul Cézanne, paid a visit to Robert Caze, in the course of which he found himself in the company of 'tous le jeunes poètes'.<sup>1</sup> In the discussion which followed, Pissarro made what for him was evidently a surprising discovery, namely, that his views on art and those of the young poets were by no means as antagonistic as he had supposed. The following day, he wrote to his son, Lucien:

Très enthousiastes de notre art, les jeunes. Ils tombent, par exemple, joliment sur L'Oeuvre de Zola. Il paraît que c'est absolument mauvais - ils sont sévères. Je me promets de le lire quand cela paraîtra. Très enthousiastes de Flaubert, les jeunes - à la bonne heure! Dame! Ils sont dans le vrai.

(ibid.).

Five years later, following the publication of Aurier's first article on Symbolism in painting, he had the following harsh things to say about the same poets:

...il faut donc se défier de ceux qui sous prétexte de socialisme, d'art idéaliste, d'art pur, etc., etc., suivent en effet un mouvement, mais un mouvement faux, archifaux... Paul Adam, Aurier et toute la jeune littérature sont dans cette contre-révolution...

(ibid., p.259).

In the five years which separate the two diametrically-opposed judgements, both poetry and painting had evolved in directions which Pissarro, with his belief in an 'art social', was unwilling to take. Yet the harmony of views which he encountered in the course of that February evening should not be underestimated for

<sup>+</sup>Footnotes to this chapter begin on p.287.

all that. Though we lack information upon the discussion which took place, it is not difficult to imagine the main points. They almost certainly involved attitudes to the impression.

One of the poets very likely present that evening will figure prominently in the pages which follow. The critic who, over fifty years ago, wrote that 'entre tous les symbolistes, Gustave Kahn est peut-être la figure la plus significative et la plus complète'<sup>2</sup> did not realise just how right he was. In 1886, Kahn was a very busy man. In La Vogue, the symbolist review which he directed, he was publishing extracts from Rimbaud's manuscript of Les Illuminations and from the poetry of Laforgue. He was also developing the 'vers libre' in the poems whose publication, the following year, confirmed his position as a leader of literary Symbolism.<sup>3</sup> Not the least important of his interests in 1886, however, was his passion for painting. It had been with him since his adolescence. Referring later to his formative years, Kahn wrote:

La peinture, c'étaient les impressionnistes exposant des merveilles dans des appartements vacants pour trois mois. C'était, à l'exposition de 1878, un merveilleux panneau de Gustave Moreau, ouvrant sur la légende une porte niellée et damasquinée et orfèvrée, c'était Manet, Monet, Renoir, de la grâce, de l'élégance, du soleil, de la vérité.

(G. Kahn: Symbolistes et décadents, Paris, Vanier, 1902, p.337).

In 1886, his interest in Moreau and the Impressionists, though still very real, was, nevertheless, to some extent overshadowed by his recent discovery of the painting of Seurat to which, later in the same year, would be attached the label of 'néo-impressionnisme'.<sup>4</sup>

Since Pissarro was soon to make the same conversion, a certain harmony of views between poet and painter cannot have been too difficult to achieve. This chapter will be concerned to show the reasons for, and the consequences of, Kahn's adaptation of Seurat's Neo-Impressionism in his theory and practice of the 'vers libre'.

Those would-be poets who, like Kahn, were eighteen years old in the summer of 1878, by and large shared his tastes in painting, though probably not their basis. Kahn was certainly the first poet of this generation to become acquainted with the idealist dimension which Mallarmé found in Impressionism. He was, as he liked to remind everyone, the first of Mallarmé's Tuesday-evening visitors and this, in 1879.<sup>5</sup> At this stage, admiration for the Impressionists among the young poets was based upon narrower sympathies than those of Mallarmé. For an account of them, we may best turn to Paul Bourget:

Un style de décadence est celui où l'unité du livre se décompose pour laisser la place à l'indépendance de la page, où la page se décompose, pour laisser la place à l'indépendance de la phrase, et la phrase pour laisser la place à l'indépendance du mot. Les exemples foisonnent dans la littérature actuelle qui démontrent cette féconde vérité.

(P. Bourget: 'Psychologie contemporaine. Notes et Portraits. Charles Baudelaire', Nouvelle revue, Tome 13, n°2, 15 novembre 1881, p.413).

Though Bourget is here talking about Baudelaire, the relevance to Impressionism is not hard to see. Just as, for the decadents, Baudelaire represented the exacerbated sensibilities of modern, urban man,<sup>6</sup> so Impressionism, for them, meant the acute analysis of visual sensation, bright colour and the modern subject, three reasons for preferring it to the conventional idealism of salon art.

Not that salon art was the only painting which they despised. Their taste for Impressionism is very well set off by their dis-taste for the art of another painter:

Rien d'étonnant qu'on préfère leurs oeuvres aux tableaux de Puvis de Chavannes, qui, s'ils ne renferment point d'idée, n'ont, ~~en~~ revanche, pas davantage de couleur...Laideur et pas de coloris: voilà comment celui-ci entend l'art.

(H. Alis: 'La décadence artistique', Revue moderne et naturaliste, 2e année, n°10, 1er juin 1879, p.292).

Similarly, R. Salis, editor, during the early 1880's, of Le Chat noir, wrote scornfully of the success obtained in the salon of 1882 by Puvis' 'Ludus pro patria':

On accorde la médaille d'honneur à M. Puvis de Chavannes. On devrait bien nous expliquer pourquoi.

Schaunard avait inventé la symphonie du bleu dans les arts et n'a pas été décoré. Puvis, pour avoir découvert la mélodie du gris, est chevalier de la Légion d'honneur. Qu'on s'en tienne là, - c'est assez bien, je trouve, pour un peintre de corridor.

(R. Salis: 'Salon de 1882', Le Chat noir, n°17, 6 mai 1882, p.2).

Within a few years of this remark, the situation of Puvis de Chavannes vis-à-vis Impressionism was completely reversed. The comparison between the two pictorial styles was maintained but where the decadents intended it as criticism of Puvis, the Symbolists did so as praise. In a review of Camille Lemonnier's Les Peintres de la vie, in which the author expressed his admiration for, among others, Courbet and Stevens, Kahn dismissed their realist aesthetic as inadequate:

L'impressionnisme de MM. Degas et Pissarro et Seurat, et l'idéalisme de MM. Gustave Moreau et Puvis de Chavannes ont singulièrement déplacé la question.

(G. Kahn: 'Chronique de littérature et de l'art', La Revue indépendante, Tome 7, n°19, Mai 1888, p.362).

Not that salon art was the only painting which they despised. Their taste for Impressionism is very well set off by their dis-taste for the art of another painter:

Rien d'étonnant qu'on préfère leurs oeuvres aux tableaux de Puvis de Chavannes, qui, s'ils ne renferment point d'idée, n'ont, en revanche, pas davantage de couleur...Laideur et pas de coloris: voilà comment celui-ci entend l'art.

(H. Alis: 'La décadence artistique', Revue moderne et naturaliste, 2e année, n°10, 1er juin 1879, p.292).

Similarly, R. Salis, editor, during the early 1880's, of Le Chat noir, wrote scornfully of the success obtained in the salon of 1882 by Puvis' 'Ludus pro patria':

On accorde la médaille d'honneur à M. Puvis de Chavannes. On devrait bien nous expliquer pourquoi.

Schaunard avait inventé la symphonie du bleu dans les arts et n'a pas été décoré. Puvis, pour avoir découvert la mélodie du gris, est chevalier de la Légion d'honneur. Qu'on s'en tienne là, - c'est assez bien, je trouve, pour un peintre de corridor.

(R. Salis: 'Salon de 1882', Le Chat noir, n°17, 6 mai 1882, p.2).

Within a few years of this remark, the situation of Puvis de Chavannes vis-à-vis Impressionism was completely reversed. The comparison between the two pictorial styles was maintained but where the decadents intended it as criticism of Puvis, the Symbolists did so as praise. In a review of Camille Lemonnier's Les Peintres de la vie, in which the author expressed his admiration for, among others, Courbet and Stevens, Kahn dismissed their realist aesthetic as inadequate:

L'impressionnisme de MM. Degas et Pissarro et Seurat, et l'idéalisme de MM. Gustave Moreau et Puvis de Chavannes ont singulièrement déplacé la question.

(G. Kahn: 'Chronique de littérature et de l'art', La Revue indépendante, Tome 7, n°19, Mai 1888, p.362).

Bourget's theory of decomposition, though mis-applied to Baudelaire, was well-suited to the poetry of the decadents, in which the dislocation of longer, conventional sentence-structures is used to produce a more faithful rendering of sensation. The following is a typical example:

Là-bas, dans la hideur grise des horizons,  
S'estompent vaguement des spectres de maisons...

Une usine apparaît tôle et brique tout près  
le cimetière, avec ses files de cyprès.

De cyprès, entouré d'un livide brouillard.  
Il ne manque plus au tableau, qu'un corbillard.

(L. Le Cardonnell: 'Impressions de pluie', Le Chat noir  
n°47, 2 décembre 1882, p.2).

Despite the title of the poem, it would be misleading to suggest that, at this point, pictorial Impressionism has transferred into poetry. Rather, it has served to underline a stylistic model already established by the Goncourts. The result is a minor current of 'impressionist' poetry which may be found in any of the decadent reviews.<sup>7</sup> The difficulties raised by the genre are easily seen. The decomposition of pure sensation is an impracticable terrain for language. The writer soon reaches the limits of language's possibility to translate the immediate data of perception.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note, in this respect, that Kahn himself was not, as far as we know, tempted by this sub-genre. The three prose poems which he published in 1879 under the title, 'L'Alcool',<sup>9</sup> are, as one might expect, heavily influenced by Baudelaire, but the green-coloured liquid reminds the poet of 'les yeux verts et pâles de la maîtresse que jadis j'aimais' (ibid., p.644), while as well as being a source



of intense joy, it is also 'un souvenir de lointaines douleurs' (ibid.). Fairly trite, I agree, but an indication, nevertheless, that Kahn, even at this stage, was dissatisfied with the description of sensation in poetry. Furthermore, Kahn was already searching for a poetic language with which to translate an inner, emotional life. In 1879, he relied upon incantatory effects such as repetition and the use of the phrase as strophe, of which Baudelaire's prose poems provided him with examples. In their subject-matter and structure, Kahn's early poems are, in intention at least, the opposite of 'decomposition'.

Bourget's definition was not his only contribution to our problem. From 1880, he was 'Lord Bouddha' to Jules Laforgue<sup>10</sup> and was responsible, along with Charles Ephrussi, for Laforgue's initiation into Impressionism.<sup>11</sup> Laforgue, with his passion for integrating each experience within a coherent philosophy of art,<sup>12</sup> was, after Mallarmé, precisely the sort of intellect required to bridge the gulf between an initially naturalist pictorial technique and an idealist philosophy of art. His close friendship with Kahn, therefore, takes on considerable importance for our subject.

In a letter of June 1883, Laforgue wrote of the difficulty of being an art critic (cf. *supra*, pp. 46-7, note 30):

Pour ma part vous ne sauriez croire avec quelle conscience je m'y adonne. Non en lisant des livres et en fouillant les vieux musées, mais en cherchant à voir clair dans la nature en regardant humainement comme un homme préhistorique l'eau du Rhin, les ciels, les prairies...

Si je n'étais persuadé que j'ai l'œil artiste... je n'écirais point, croyez-le. /Laforge's italics/.

(J. Laforge: La Cravache, n°394, 8 septembre 1888).

These lines, with their reference to prehistoric man and the artistic eye, provide a striking echo of Mallarmé's interpretation of Manet. Laforge too has clearly sensed the extent to which 'plein-airisme' had shifted the problem of the subject's relationship to external reality. If the poet insists upon the importance of the painters' decision to leave the 'atelier éclairé à 45°'<sup>13</sup> in favour of the 'spectacles lumineux en plein air' (ibid.), it is because, even if the painters were, in the early 1880's, still inclined to consider Impressionism as a pictorial technique, Laforge, like Mallarmé before him, felt strongly that it was much more. The studio served as a sort of filter to the painter. Its fixed light, through the regulated angle of incidence, reduced external variations to a minimum, thereby ensuring the painter's control over the subject to be painted. Out of doors, however, he was obliged to forego such safety-nets. The constantly-changing light of day increased insecurity and the need for improvisation. The force of Impressionism's impact upon Laforge is to be understood by his sense that this painting, far from simply discrediting certain academic conventions of perception, forced the painter to re-define his relationship to external reality:

Il arrive à voir la réalité dans l'atmosphère vivante des formes, décomposée, réfractée, réfléchie par les êtres et les choses, en incessantes variations.

(ibid., p.136).

with the result that object and subject are 'irréremédiablement

mouvants, insaisissables et insaisissants'(ibid,p,141). The synthesis of object and subject, what Laforgue called 'les éclairs d'identité'(ibid.), was the hallmark of genius.

Laforgue's transfer, to the realm of human psychology, of a pictorial method in which the short, sharp brush-stroke meant an end to duration in favour of the ceaseless re-creation of subject and object, provided his symbolist friends with both an exciting possibility and an unsolved problem. If, in an impressionist painting, the object was dissolved under the effect of light, enveloped in an atmospheric shroud, how much more readily poetic 'objects' lent themselves to this approach. Henceforth, the poet might envisage presenting the elements of his emotional life - memories, thoughts, associations and so on - in what Kahn called in 'l'heure du rêve'<sup>14</sup>. In his review of Verlaine's 'Amour', Kahn developed this interpretation of the impressionist landscape:

Or, si un paysage est donc à toute minute modifiable en toutes les impressions qu'il suggère par ses conditions même (sic) d'existence, que plus complexe, plus modifiable encore est un phénomène humain, un phénomène psychique, dont nous ne pouvons guère percevoir le heurt que lorsqu'il s'est produit et va s'effaçant...ne pouvant connaître que ce qui se passe en nous, il nous faut nous résoudre à le cliquer le plus rapidement et le plus sincèrement possible en son essence, sa forme et son impulsion. De là, la nécessité d'une poésie extrêmement personnelle, cursive et notante.

(ibid.,pp.347-8).

The last of the sentences consists of a thinly-veiled reference to Kahn's own major contribution to literary Symbolism's anthology of poetic forms, the 'vers libre'. Dujardin informs us that, in

Kahn's search for a new verse-form whose individuality would be ensured by its freedom from external rules of versification, it was the example of Rimbaud which made the different elements of his search drop into place.<sup>15</sup> I shall try to show that the painting of Seurat also contributed to the solution which Kahn found. As for the problem, there were no doubt many causes of Kahn's sense of the need for 'une poésie extrêmement personnelle, cursive et notante'. His review of Verlaine shows that the impact upon psychology of the visual discoveries of Impressionism was one of them.

As for the unsolved problem referred to earlier which was created by impressionist theories of perception, it is already present in Bourget's definition of literary decadence - i.e. the disintegration of poetic structure. By 1885, the need was being clearly felt for a literary style which would re-establish, beyond decadence, a new source of poetic unification:

Mais il sera permis de transfigurer dans une synthèse autre que celle donnée jusqu'à ce jour par l'impressionisme du roman. Nous ne la peindrons pas telle qu'elle se subjectivise dans le cerveau du palefrenier ou du peintre d'enseignes, mais telle que nous la fera notre rétine individuelle, notre vision plus largement embrassante. Nous y introduirons les fantômes du rêve, de l'hallucination, du souvenir, parce que cela se trouve dans la vie et la fait. Et si nous reprenons les époques anciennes et les hommes anciens, les religions, ça prouvera que nous marchons encore avec l'Art.

(P. Adam: 'La presse et le symbolisme', Le Symboliste, 1ère année, n°1, 7-14 octobre 1886).

Beyond an analytic decomposition of the mind's consciousness of reality towards a new source of unification in the poet's synthetic vision,<sup>16</sup> beyond the all-pervasive submission to the instant towards the re-creation of human duration through legend: a few months be-

fore Adam wrote his article, Seurat had shown his painting, 'Un Dimanche après-midi à la Grande Jatte', in the eighth and last impressionist exhibition and an important collection of Moreau's watercolours had gone on show in the Goupil galleries. Adam's comments show how ready the symbolist poets were for both.

Of those painters who occupied a privileged position among the symbolist poets, Gustave Moreau is the most enigmatic, his reputation, the most difficult (and one of the most necessary) to pin down. He was, as Maucclair rightly put it, 'presque ignoré et pourtant célèbre'.<sup>17</sup> The rarity of his public exhibitions, together with their invariably dramatic consequences, had created around his personality an aura which left a free rein to the literary virtuosity of certain writers, notably Huysmans. The considerable interest aroused by his re-emergence, after six years absence, in the salon of 1876<sup>18</sup> was repeated in the Universal Exhibition of two years later.<sup>19</sup> The year 1880 saw his much-publicised but final salon appearance,<sup>20</sup> after which public exhibition of his work was restricted to a large extent to the series of watercolours which he produced to illustrate the fables of LaFontaine and of which 10 were shown in 1881, 25 in 1882 and the full series of 65 only in 1886.

We have seen (cf. *supra*, p. 243) that, looking back at the turn of the century over his formative years, Kahn described the importance which he attached to the discovery of Moreau's work in terms of 'une porte niellée et damasquinée et orfèvrée' onto legend. One is led to wonder why, in an exhibition

in which a total of seven paintings and five watercolours of Moreau were shown, Kahn should refer to a 'merveilleux panneau' without naming the one exhibit which seemed so important to him. The problem was solved in a rather unexpected way. Laforgue, in an article published in 1886, described a Moreau painting in the following way:

Ton de Léonard et sa suprême distinction par un pinceau du temps d'Ingres, mais modelé d'amour et en décor d'émail stagnant et corsé d'ailleurs par tous les tons décoratifs, figés (niellés, historiés, damasquinés) en une dureté autorisée des chers Primitifs.

(J. Laforgue: 'A propos de toiles, ça et là', Le Symboliste, 1ère année, n°4, 30 octobre - 6 novembre 1886).

Laforgue's reference to the 'technique s'arrêtant au respect de la toile ou même du panneau du bois'(ibid.) only serves to confirm Kahn's borrowing. If we remember that 26 years separated the exhibition from the writing of Symbolistes et décadents, Kahn may be excused the lapse in memory as regards the chronology of Moreau's exhibitions. But if the memory of individual paintings has receded, the lesson taken from them remains as vivid for Kahn in 1902 as it did in 1878, for what distinguishes Kahn's praise from that of Laforgue is precisely the reference to legend. Kahn has recourse to Laforgue's technical expertise in order to give substance to a visual memory of which the details have disappeared, leaving only their sense of importance.

The problem becomes rather more complicated, however, when we realise that the subject of Laforgue's discussion was a painting which was certainly not shown in the Universal Exhibition of 1878. The article in Le Symboliste was

re-published in Mélanges posthumes (Tome III) in 1903 under the title, 'Notes sur le Musée de Luxembourg (1886)', and the painting referred to is thus 'Jeune fille à la tête d'Orphée', which had brought Moreau immediate fame when shown at the salon of 1864, after which it was bought by the state. The fact that Kahn confused a painting of 1864 with those of the 1878 exhibition is important for, in between the two dates, Moreau's pictorial style had undergone an important change.<sup>21</sup> If I appear to be haggling over what would seem to be quite a small point, it is because I feel that it provides a clue to the fact that the reasons for which Kahn admired Moreau were no longer those of the decadent group, whose pictorial tastes were formed by Huysmans. While these insisted upon the hallucinatory and erotic overtones of the Salomé works, Kahn (together with Wyzéwa) preferred the 'Wagnerian' qualities of the paintings of the 1860's.

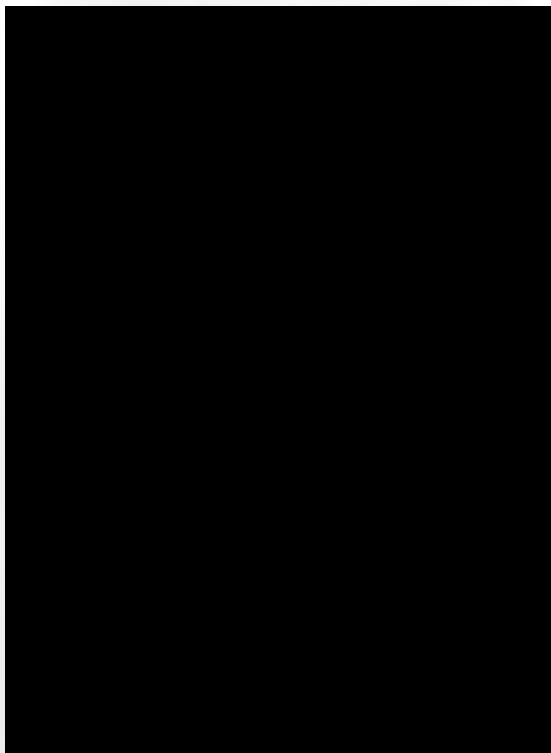
In his article on Wagner and with the aid of long extracts both from Wagner's letter to Berlioz and from the 'Lettre sur la musique', Baudelaire had raised the legend to that position of election which the symbolist poets confirmed. Legend was, as Wagner had shown, the 'matière idéale du poète'.<sup>22</sup>

La légende, à quelque époque et à quelque nation qu'elle appartienne, a l'avantage de comprendre exclusivement ce que cette époque et cette nation ont de purement humain, et de le présenter sous une forme originale très saillante, et dès lors intelligible au premier coup d'oeil (ibid.).

The importance of Moreau's example for the Symbolists is to be found in what they felt to be the modernism of his myths. Though

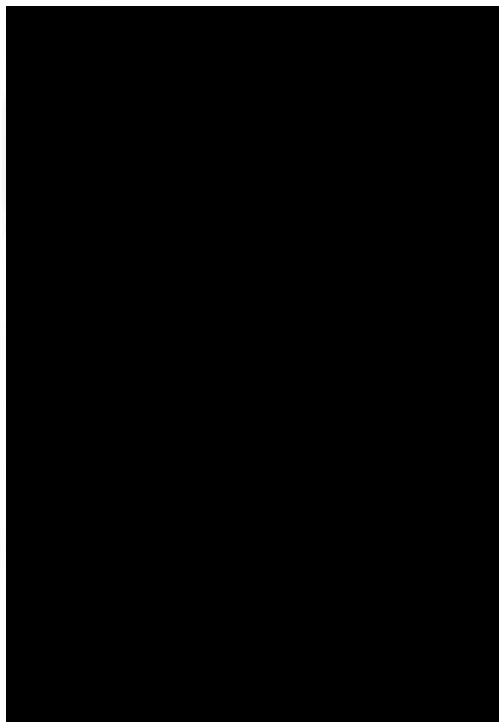


G. Moreau: 'Jeune fille à la tête d'Orphée', 1865, 15<sup>4</sup> X 99.5 cm.,  
Musée du Louvre, Paris.

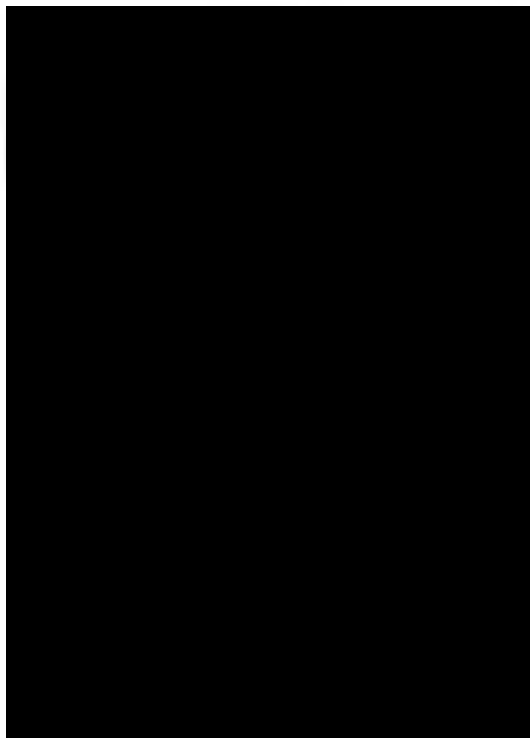


G. Moreau: 'Sappho', watercolour, 1884, 20 X 13 cm., Victoria &  
Albert Museum, London.

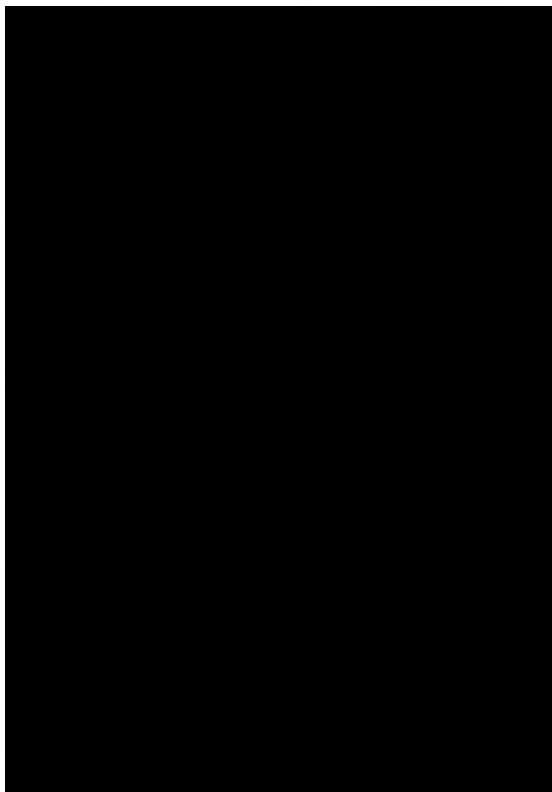




G. Moreau: 'Jeune fille à la tête d'Orphée', 1865, 154 X 99.5 cm.,  
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



G. Moreau: 'Sappho', watercolour, 1884, 20 X 13 cm., Victoria &  
Albert Museum, London.



G. Moreau: 'Salomé dansant' / detail 7, 1876, 92 X 60 cm., Musée Gustave Moreau, Paris.

(...sous son fin maillot taché de bous  
Et de sang, Salomé, fille et soeur de la Mort  
Rit à l'Humanité...

J. Lorrain: 'Salomé', Le Chat noir, n°151, 29 décembre 1884, p.396.

...Un parfum de benjoin et de poivre et de sang.  
Il erre au creux des soirs, il impregne la nuque  
Et tandis qu'au lointain s'évade un pâle eunuque  
Tout rouge dans l'ardeur du soir incandescent  
La chaude odeur de chair, de rut et de massacre  
Monte au fond du jardin plus puissante et plus âcre.

J. Lorrain: 'Salomé', La Cravache, n°382, 16 juin 1888).

Wagner's theory of the legend was available in Paris from 1861 onwards (the date of the French translation of the 'Lettre sur la musique'), the application of it in his music was not and Moreau's painting to some extent profited from the gap. As early as 1865, Gautier had set the tone for this sort of interpretation with his description of Moreau's Oedipus, in the painting 'Oedipe et le sphinx' of 1864, as a 'Hamlet grec'<sup>23</sup> that is, as an image whose reminiscences of ancient plasticity (the influence on Moreau's style of Mantegna and da Vinci) combined with a Romantic intensity of expression to convey an impression of modernity through the veil of ancient fiction. Similarly, after seeing the 1878 exhibition, Redon, in his description of the watercolour, 'Phaeton', echoed, through a reference to Delacroix, the comparison made by Gautier and added:

Cherchez dans les innombrables illustrations de la fable quelqu'un qui ait interprété celle-ci de la sorte; je vous défie, si vous avez pénétré un moment sous les voûtes si froides du temple académique, d'y trouver un esprit qui rajeunisse ainsi l'antiquité avec une liberté si entière et dans une forme si contenue et si véhémence ...C'est que sa vision est moderne, essentiellement et profondément moderne.

(O. Redon: A Soi-même, p.63).

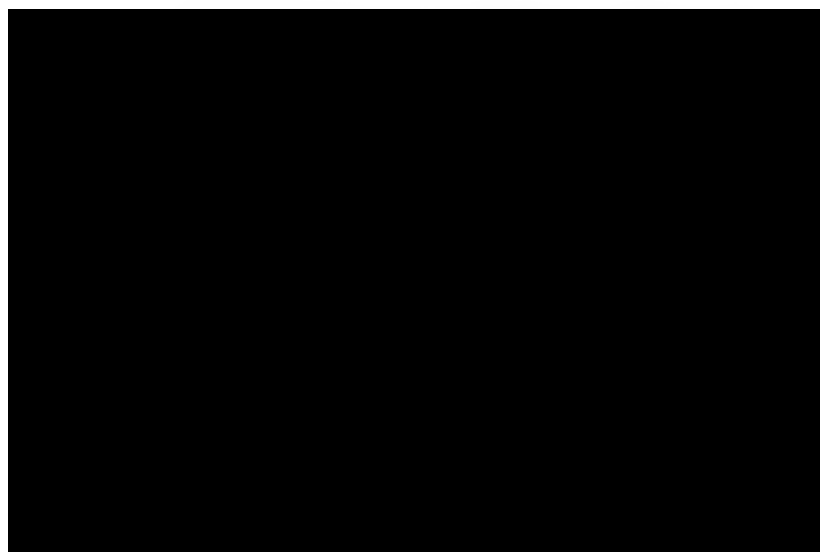
Thus, Laforgue, in the article which I have mentioned, compared Moreau to da Vinci, Ingres and the 'chers Primitifs', while his reference to the 'tons...niellés, historiés, damasquinés' reminds the spectator of the two major principles which Moreau inherited from da Vinci and Mantegna, necessary richness and beautiful inertia. Laforgue also describes the composition as 'immortellement inébranlable'.<sup>24</sup> It comes as no surprise to discover Wyzéwa, in his

article on Wagnerian painting, speaking of Moreau as a painter 'qui naguère avait promis à l'art quelque moderne Vinci'.<sup>25</sup> It is an important fact that in 1886, when the Moreau exhibition opened in the Goupil galleries, Kahn had not been led by Huysmans' brilliant prose, to see in Moreau one of the 'cervelles ébranlées, aiguillées, comme rendues visionnaires par la névrose'.<sup>26</sup> It left him free to concentrate upon the lessons of Moreau's legends, a burning issue in Les Palais nomades.

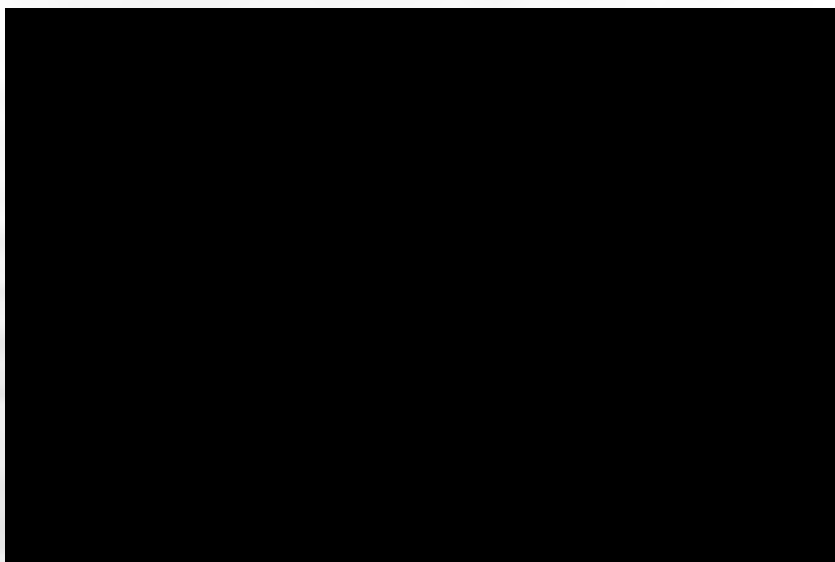
In his study of Kahn's poetic works, J.C. Ireson states that the poems which compose Les Palais nomades were written 'au cours de 1885 et des premiers mois de 1886'.<sup>27</sup> The author simply advances the dates without commenting upon them. He is certainly correct but if I have examined the position of Kahn, Adam, Wyzéwa etc. vis-à-vis Impressionism and Moreau, it has been with the composition of this poetry in mind. During the period 1885-6, both Seurat and Kahn were applying themselves to a common problem, that of the consequences for their respective arts of the advances made in painting by Impressionism. In March-April 1886, the Moreau exhibition forced Kahn to clarify his attitude to the legend. That two such highly differing approaches to painting should seem to Kahn to form different aspects of the same inquiry is in itself an important insight into the situation of literary Symbolism at this time. To Kahn, it seemed proof that Impressionism and what was already being called the 'reaction to Impressionism' actually led in the same direction.

In 1884, Seurat began work on the

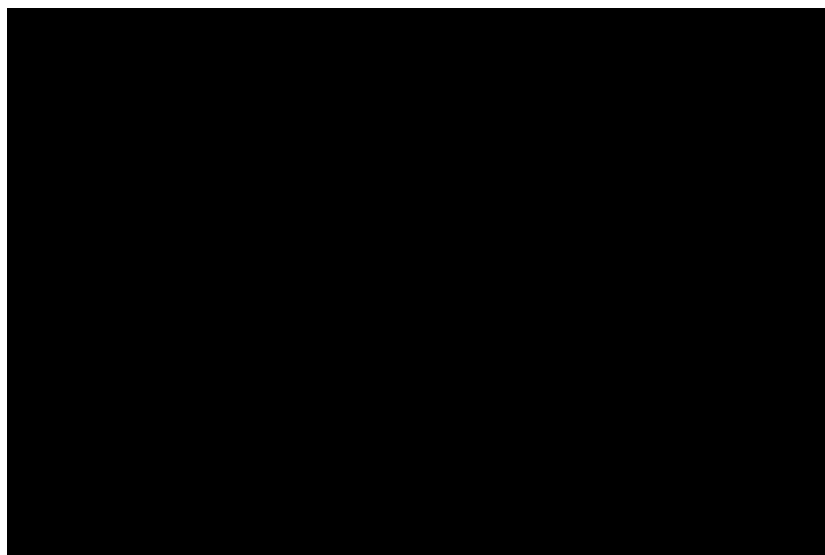
painting, 'Un Dimanche après-midi à la Grande Jatte',<sup>28</sup> in which he sought to define a pictorial method which would no longer depend upon the subjective temperament and sensitive retina of the individual Impressionist but which would be based upon a scientifically-established system of rules. The aesthetic theory involved three fundamental propositions: first, that the aesthetic value of a work lay in an internal harmony of simple elements; second, that this internal harmony might be made explicit by an analytic aesthetic; third, that this explicit harmony might be achieved by the application of a scientific technique.<sup>29</sup> W.I. Homer, in his very interesting analysis of Seurat's work,<sup>30</sup> has shown how the painter applied physical laws governing the behaviour of light and colour in nature rather than rely upon his visual sensation, so as to be literally able to make the painting duplicate nature's mode of operation, thereby ensuring a far greater degree of luminosity than Impressionism had achieved. Furthermore, Seurat united the traditional elements of chiaroscuro, both in modeling and picture-planning, with colours which were extremely accurate in representing the actual hues of the subject painted.<sup>31</sup> It is not difficult to see which aspects of the painting most struck Kahn: the fragmentation of light into particles of intense colour interacting to produce a coloured mosaic, the fragmentation of form into multicoloured dots, into networks of rhythms in which an intense luminosity co-existed with an atmosphere of mystery, the tranquil and hieratic silhouettes whose narrow band of colourless light separates them from the background and from one another and



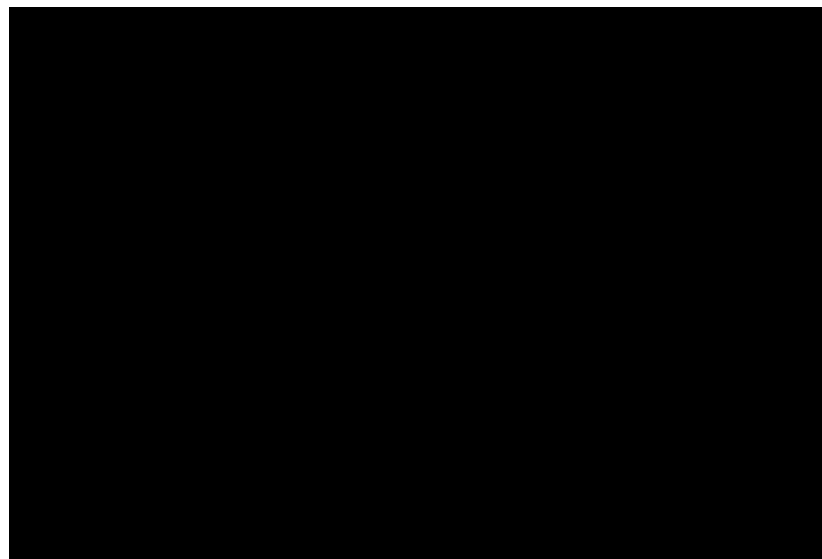
G. Seurat: 'Un Dimanche après-midi à la Grande Jatte', 1884-6, 206 X 305, Art Institute of Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.



G. Seurat: 'Etude pour "Un Dimanche après-midi à la Grande Jatte"', 1884-6, 17 X 25 cm., Musée du Jeu de Paume, Paris.



G. Seurat: 'Un Dimanche après-midi à la Grande Jatte', 1884-6, 206 X 305, Art Institute of Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.



G. Seurat: 'Etude pour "Un Dimanche après-midi à la Grande Jatte"', 1884-6, 17 X 25 cm., Musée du Jeu de Paume, Paris.

yet whose forms and spatial arrangements echo. Nearly forty years later, Kahn still remembered the impression produced by the painting in terms of hieratism and luminosity:<sup>32</sup>

La formule neuve d'une transcription de la vie moderne se démontre aux silhouettes de ces badauds du dimanche, stylisés, hiératisés. Ils sont modelés sur la toile par des menus points colorés, des tons pressés, juxtaposés, orchestrés. Une lumière les baigne à qui ce pointillisme donne des vibrations nombreuses, répercutées. Ils sont solides, concrets, en même temps lumineux.

(G. Kahn: 'Au temps du pointillisme', Mercur de France, Tome 171, n°519, 1er avril 1924, p.5).

While Kahn watched the painting take shape and while he worked on Les Palais nomades, Fénéon was preparing the articles published in the 13, 28 June and 20 September issues of La Vogue and which, at the end of the same year, would form the volume, Les Impressionnistes en 1886, and the aesthetic summary of Neo-Impressionism. Furthermore, Kahn's public reply to the manifesto of Moréas bears a close relationship to the fundamental propositions of the new painting as defined above. In it, we find the internal harmony of simple elements ('faire concorder la multiplicité et l'entrelacement des rythmes avec la mesure de l'Idée',<sup>33</sup>), the analytical model ('pousser l'analyse du moi à l'extrême'(ibid.)) and a scientific instrument, the 'vers libre'('diviser le rythme...donner dans le graphique d'une strophe le schéma d'une sensation'(ibid.)).<sup>34</sup> It is interesting to note that this 'réponse des symbolistes' makes no reference either to Symbolism or the symbol. Not that the concept is lacking. The desire to 'objectiver le subjectif (l'extériorisation de l'Idée) au lieu de subjectiver l'objectif (la nature vue à travers un tempérament)'(ibid.) is quite good enough to be going



on with. It is just that, as Kahn saw it, the transposition of Neo-Impressionism into poetry naturally included it. But just in case there was any doubt:

Des réflexions analogues ont créé le ton multitonique de Wagner et la dernière technique des impressionnistes. C'est une adhésion de la littérature aux théories scientifiques construites par inductions par l'expérimentation de M. Charles Henry, énoncées dans une introduction aux principes d'esthétique mathématique et expérimentale. Ces théories sont fondées sur ce principe philosophique purement idéaliste qui nous fait repousser toute réalité de la matière et n'admet l'existence du monde que comme représentation.

(ibid.).<sup>35</sup>

Neo-Impressionism, Schopenhauer and the 'vers libre': it seems an unlikely combination but it posed no problems for Kahn. Like many of the Symbolists, he was quick to seek out common denominators among his artistic and philosophic preferences as though cohesion alone was sufficient to guarantee validity. Be that as it may, Fénéon substantiated Kahn's analysis:

Alors, tels écrivains, M. Gustave Kahn, M. Paul Adam, appliqués à transposer le quotidien dans un rêve logique, inquiets de rythmes plus complexes, soucieux de moyens d'expression précis et efficaces, virent aux oeuvres néo-impressionnistes les analogues de leurs propres recherches.

(F. Fénéon: 'Certains', Art et critique, 1ère année, n°29, 14 décembre 1889, p.454).

It is no coincidence that it was Fénéon who also wrote the clearest and most accurate contemporary account of Les Palais nomades.<sup>36</sup>

In his 1923 review of the 'vers libre' in French poetry, Dujardin considered one element to be essential to free verse:

Le vers libre est toujours une unité; le vers régulier est quelquefois cela, quelquefois une unité, mais quel-

quefois pas. Cette unité sera une unité formelle correspondant à une unité intérieure et caractérisée par une unité de signification, l'unité de vision, l'unité musicale.

(E. Dujardin, op.cit., p.583).

For Kahn, this unity consisted of the rhythmic group:

L'unité vraie n'est pas le nombre conventionnel du vers, mais un arrêt simultané du sens et de la phrase sur toute fraction organique des vers et de la pensée. Cette unité consiste en un nombre (ou rythme) de voyelles et de consonnes qui sont cellule organique et indépendante... L'unité du vers peut se définir encore: un fragment le plus court possible figurant un arrêt de voix et un arrêt de sens.

(G. Kahn: 'Chronique de la littérature et de l'art', La Revue indépendante, Tome 9, n°26, Décembre 1888, pp.483-4).

It would be difficult to miss the adaptation of neo-impressionist theory in this definition of free verse as one which consisted of 'organic and independent cells', each complete in itself, but whose controlled juxtaposition created a new 'cell' which was not merely the sum, but the synthesis, of its component elements. Elsewhere, Kahn wrote that his efforts 'portèrent surtout sur la construction de la strophe'.<sup>37</sup> Unlike traditional stanza forms based upon a correspondence of metrical lines arranged in a sequence or pattern which recurs in a regular way, Kahn's strophe is a logical construction of verse units developing the principal idea.<sup>38</sup> Faced with the problem of how to brick together the different units, Kahn wrote in the above-mentioned article of December 1888 (p.484):

Comment l'apparenter à d'autres vers? Par la construction logique de la strophe, se constituant d'après les mesures intérieures du vers qui dans cette strophe contient la pensée principale ou le point essentiel de la pensée.

This logical synthesis existed when two thoughts, fixed within their rhythmic equivalents, were juxtaposed for the reader to re-create imaginatively the original idea; thereafter each new development contributed to the whole until first, the poem, then, the section and finally, the volume itself was included. The harmonious structure which resulted from this process was itself a symbol of human life.

We must now leave the theory for the practice with an analysis of one of the poems in the collection. The choice is not an arbitrary one, for the poem chosen is that mentioned by Dujardin and Ireson as containing the first of Kahn's published free verse.<sup>39</sup> It is the fourth poem of the section, 'Intermède', published in La Vogue of 28 June - 5 July 1886. The opening two sections, 'Thème et Variations' and 'Mélopées', have provided for the poet an initial insight into the essentially illusory quality of all experience and, in particular, of love. A process of introversion is the starting-point of the section, 'Intermède', in which escape into the past seems to offer a sense of duration lacking in the present. The poem analysed evokes memories which, though associated with experiences which are long since past, nevertheless continue to echo in the present and are promised a future through their participation in legend.

#### IV.

Timbres oubliés, Timbres morts perdus,  
Pas d'une autre glissant à la rue,  
Chansons d'amour et vols de grues  
Dans d'improbables firmaments,

Les futurs, sont à vous, puisque le vent emporte  
 Vers des cieux, et des lunes, et des flores  
 Vos petits frissons que nul ne peut clore  
 Votre âme a glissé sous les lourdes portes

Vers d'imaginaires Lahores.

Timbres oubliés des charmants jardins,  
 Timbres argentins des Thulés lointains,  
 Timbres violets des voix consolantes  
 Ependant graves les bénédictions,  
 Timbres bleus des périls aux féeries,  
 Timbres d'or des mongoles orfèvreries  
 Et vieil or des vieilles nations!...

(G. Kahn: Les Palais nomades, pp.54-5).

In retrospect, these lines appear to offer only cautious innovation. Certainly they owe more to traditional rhyme and metre than Kahn would probably have admitted. Nevertheless, the essential elements of free verse are present. Verse, strophe and rhyme no longer conform to fixed rules. Certain lines end without rhyme (lines 4 and 12); there is a marked emphasis on alliteration and assonance within the individual unit, while the number of syllables, though always between 8 and 12, is variable according to the idea to be expressed. In the first stanza, for example, the number decreases to suggest an ever-increasing distance between the poet and his memories; in the second, the last line confirms, by its shorter length and typographical isolation, the distance which separates the poet from the imaginary domain.

The first strophe consists of a lament to lost time. Of all experience, nothing remains, not even its most distinctive and intimate tone. A slow rhythm is created by

the repetition of 'timbres' and is reinforced as the past participle, 'oubliés' is doubled by 'morts perdus' and the single syllable of 'morts' by 'perdus'. The rapid transition from the abstract 'timbres' to the concrete 'pas d'une autre...' is a constant feature of Kahn's poetry and fills a double function. On the immediate level, it is a principle of division, of separation, underlining the divorce between successive experiences. At one remove, however, it helps to bring them together, since, through their shared theme, in this case, lost time, the concrete image renders the abstract more immediate, while the abstract adds a certain distance to the concrete. The effect is reinforced by the present participle, 'glissant', coming as it does after three past participles in the opening line. The process is repeated in the third line through the juxtaposition of 'chansons d'amour' and 'vols de grues', two quite different images joined grammatically by the neutral 'et' and yet sharing the same emotional tone. The 'vols de grues' is a particularly rich image. The main notion of departure confirms the general theme, while that of migration strengthens the idea of endless repetition of experience which had been the poet's conclusion from the preceding sections and which the crane, in its common function of longevity, reinforces.<sup>40</sup> The word also refers to a constellation of the southern hemisphere, which introduces the idea contained in 'firmaments' of the next line. The most telling use of the word, however, is as a slang term for prostitute, the frequent companion, if the folklore of Symbolism is to be believed, of many a poet.<sup>41</sup> The notion of infidelity adds a new mean-

ing to the 'pas d'une autre glissant à la rue' of the previous line. The central notion of the first strophe, music, introduced by 'timbres' and enlarged through the lyrical connotations of 'chansons' is now bitterly attacked by the 'music' of an earthier sort evoked by the prostitute and alluded to in the obvious sexual symbolism of flight. The division of line 3 into two equal units of four syllables linked by the neutral 'et' highlights the thematic opposition between ideal love ('chansons d'amour') and sexual excitement ('vols de grues') and, in addition, develops, physically as it were, the theme of memories on the point of disappearance by contrasting with the division of the first two lines into units of five syllables. As Kahn intended, the number of syllables is related to the thematic needs of the poem. If this theme seems to be pure Verlaine, the style reveals Kahn's familiarity with the theory of Neo-Impressionism for a superficially disarticulated poetry (note, in particular, the absence of verbs which subordinate) is tightened within a complex structure of meanings and rhythms which modify one another as their relations develop.

The word 'firmaments' closes the first strophe both structurally and thematically. At the end of the line, it brings to an end the rhyme in 'u' of the three preceding lines. Thematically, through the Biblical connotations of the Vault of Heaven separating the upper and lower regions, it acts as a rather precious symbol of the divorce of the poet from his past, while, at the same time, confirms the idea of the 'septième ciel' to which the prostitute leads him. Yet no sooner does

the word 'firmaments' seem to enclose his memories within a lost past than the opening words of the second strophe create for them the promise of a future; 'Les futures sont à vous...'. The technique of retaining until the second strophe a term necessary for the understanding of the first, is, as one cannot fail to notice, a characteristic feature of Les Palais nomades and belongs to a series of poetic devices which, in 1886, thanks to the Goncourts and Verlaine, were fairly common currency.<sup>42</sup>

The domain of legend is introduced in line 6, whose trimetric, rhythmical structure ('vers des', 'et des', 'et des') provides an abrupt quickening of pace. The slow rhythm created by the repetition of 'timbres' gives way to the lighter, internal harmony of the repeated 's' in 'puisque', 'cieux', 'frissons' and 'glissé'. 'Frissons' was, of course, a favourite term of Verlaine to denote memories and sensations on the point of disappearance and Kahn reinforces this use, in sound and meaning, with 'petits' in order to stress that, despite their fragility, their survival is assured; 'nul ne peut clore'. The fourth line, 'Votre âme a glissé sous les lourdes portes', is a deliberate echo of the second line of the first strophe, 'Pas d'une autre glissant à la rue'. The repetition of the verb 'glisser' is accompanied by the reprise, in 'sous les lourdes portes' of the idea contained in 'à la rue'. The 'door' already introduced in the notion of partition contained in 'firmament' is, of course, none other than that which opens onto legend and to which Kahn referred in his recollections of the 1878 Moreau exhibition. The poet has already

presented this image in the previous poem but one of the collection when the past first seems to offer satisfactions unattainable in the present:

Mais il est par delà les portes,  
De roses vibrantes cohortes.  
(*ibid.*, p.51).

The echo returns, however, enriched by the movement towards the past which separates the second experience from the first. As such, it provides a foretaste of the value of legend which will be realised fully only in the third strophe. The physical presence to which the footsteps of line 2 allude has receded to the more abstract 'âme' of line 8, a movement which Kahn subtly underlines in the change from 'glissant à' (line 2) to 'a glissé' (line 8), where the inversion of sound and change of tense highlight, graphically and temporally, the change in the poet's attitude between the two lines. Line 9, 'Vers d'imaginaires Lahores' is, thematically and rhythmically, a reprise of line 4, 'Dans d'improbables firmaments' but while the latter contained only one syllable less than the preceding line, thereby indicating a gradual disappearance of memory, the former emphasizes, through its markedly reduced length, a rupture between the real world and that of legend. The memory of her has, in line 9, passed the other side of the door. 'Lahors', the legendary home of the Grand Mogul, maintains the sequence of rich, feminine rhymes present throughout the second strophes and which will be prolonged by the thrice-repeated 'or' sound of the third.

The domain of legend is evoked by a



quite different rhythmic pattern from those of the first two strophes. Kahn emphasizes the way in which the same rhythmic and semantic unit may be used to form different patterns of meaning by opening both the first and third strophes with 'Timbres oubliés'. The poet's individual memories are now linked to those of his race. As befits the elevation in status, the melancholy tone of the first strophe gives way to a sound of incantation created by the repetition of 'timbres' and the heavy rhythm of the lines. As in previous examples, each image contains, in sound and meaning, a facet of the idea to be expressed. Each is a unit, distinct from those surrounding it, yet providing, through its oppositions and associations (at once aural, visual and intellectual) a complex network of meanings. The consonant and/or vowel of 'timbres' is repeated in 'jardins' and 'lointains', thereby rounding off the image to which they belong while, at the same time, calling forth the same sounds in the 'timbres' of the next line. This tendency of the vowel and consonant to form a closed unit is seen again in the line 'Timbres violets des voix consolantes'. Each unit contains a different colour, which may (or may not) be a reference to Rimbaud's sonnet but sounds closer to Henry's chromatic circle with which Kahn, through Seurat, was quite familiar and to which he has applied an idealist dimension.

The third strophe contains some of the better-known examples of the symbolist arsenal of myths. As Baudelaire had suggested, in reference to Wagner, the legend offers the poet a return to the essential unicity of experience which is

absent from reality. Like all good legends, this one abolishes spatial and temporal restrictions, in this case those between the Roman island of Thulé (modern Shetland), Medieval Europe by courtesy of Wagner ('charmants jardins', 'voix consolantes'), sixteenth-century Hindustan ('Lahors') and late seventeenth-century Arabo-Persia ('péri'), thereby providing the richest possible décor for the poet's memories. Colours both muted and rich, cool and warm, contribute to the general harmony but the tone which dominates and which closes the poem upon a note of unmistakeable richness is gold, the .decadent colour par excellence, thanks in no small way to Moreau's use of it. The repetition of 'vieil' in the closing line reinforces the weight of the past with which the poem opened ('oubliés...morts perdus') with the difference that, whereas in the first line, time merely destroys experience, in the last it assures its survival by embracing it within the universal principle of legend. The problems raised by each intervening image are finally resolved within one organic whole.

Kahn's next step is to apply this synthetic approach, first, to the section, then to the collection as a whole, by carefully choosing the point at which each poem is inserted within the series. Thus, the fourth poem of 'Intermède' joins with the second, third and fifth which illustrate slightly different aspects of the same theme, only to reach the opposite conclusion from that reached in the poem which we have just seen:

Et l'ombre épaissira ta nuit continuée  
 Regard, clarté, frisson disparaissent au voile,  
 Ah, sont clos les volets de la défunte étoile,  
 Laisse flotter l'oubli et l'opaque nuée.

(ibid.p.,58).

Here, the promise of legend is annulled by a return to the pessimism which opened the fourth poem, with the difference that this new pessimism is more profound for having concluded a period of hope. In the light of the conclusion of the sixth poem, that of the fourth, 'Et vieil or des vieilles nations', takes on sinister overtones which are absent from the original context but which this new, wider context introduces. The escape from transiency represented by legend now seems as illusory as the experiences which preceded it and is merely another provisional stage reached, soon to be abandoned. But then the desertion of legend is not definitive either, for the poet devotes the entire sixth section, 'Lieds', to the same problem, only to reach the same negative conclusion as in 'Intermède', except that each experience added is a step towards the final synthesis which will be realised only on the last page of the volume. Like the neo-impressionist dot, each poetic unit, each structural equivalent of an experience, is coloured by those which surround it until the reader, at the end of the book, possesses the final synthesis from these isolated parts.

Seen in the light of the relationship which I have tried to establish with Neo-Impressionism, Kahn's poetic style seems to display neither the obscurity nor the literary plagiarism with which it is most frequently taxed.<sup>43</sup> Mallarmé was closer to the mark, which is no more than one might have expected:

Vous devez être, ma foi, fier! c'est la première fois,  
dans notre littérature et dans aucune je crois, qu'un  
Monsieur, en face du rythme officiel de la langue, notre  
vieux Vers, s'en crée un à lui seul, parfait ou à la fois  
exact et doué d'enchantement: il y a là une aventure inouïe!  
(S. Mallarmé, letter to G. Kahn in: Correspondance, Tâme III,  
p.120).

An artistic language 'à la fois exact et doué d'enchantement', and this, from the Master himself! No wonder Kahn took very seriously his claim to be the inventor of free verse. The letter also reveals that special talent which Mallarmé had for praising the poetic style of a young writer while at the same time making quite clear that he had no intention of adopting it for himself.<sup>44</sup> Be that as it may, Mallarmé's reference to the 'lois très nettes et que l'on perçoit vite en vous lisant, par vous reconnues dans la langue'(ibid.) strongly suggests that he has understood Kahn's wish to give to his theory of verse a scientific basis such as that which Seurat had established for painting. Similarly, Albert Mockel's reference, in Kahn's poetry, to the 'associations judicieuses de pigments colorés, où le geste s'enveloppe en l'harmonie des clartés',<sup>45</sup> suggests that this wish was also understood by certain of Kahn's contemporaries among the Symbolists.

At a time when Seurat was applying the finishing touches to the 'Grande Jatte' and when Kahn was hard at work on Les Palais nomades, the Gustave Moreau exhibition opened at the Goupil galleries. Here, Moreau exhibited 71 watercolours, including the complete series of 65 illustrations of the fables of LaFontaine.<sup>46</sup> It comes as no surprise to find that certain of Kahn's poetic images have their source in one or more of Moreau's exhibits. This should become obvious if we return to the third strophe of the poem which we have just analysed and then study the following lines:

D'un lac ceinturé de collines bleues un hiératique  
 éléphant caparçonné d'orfèvreries, ses puissantes pattes  
 bracelettées de fleurs, la trompe balançant une fleur, au

pourpre palanquin s'est assise une péri...

(G. Kahn: 'Chronique d'art', La Vogue, Tome I, n°3, 25 avril 1886, p.100).

The watercolour in question is 'L'Eléphant sacré'. The most interesting feature of this particular image is the rigorous elimination of detail to retain only an atmosphere of enchantment and rich colours, though it should immediately be said that this is by no means a rigid approach to Moreau's art, for, alternatively, the details remain should the idea to be expressed require them.<sup>47</sup> In general terms, Moreau's pictorial style no doubt encouraged Kahn's tendency towards a richness of imagery, particularly evident in the poet's use of gold, emerald and purple.

On other occasions, a particular legend to which Moreau had given a personal interpretation may provide the poet with a thematic source. This was the case with the Jason legend which, through its theme of quest, was a natural image for Les Palais nomades. Moreau's 1865 painting, 'Jason et Médée' was owned by Kahn's close friend, Charles Ephrussi (for whom he had found a secretary in the person of Laforgue) and there can be little doubt that Kahn profited from the easy access to the painting which friendship with Ephrussi provided.<sup>48</sup> In the work, now in the Louvre, Moreau depicts a youthful Jason, ambitious and triumphant, brandishing the Golden Bough. Yet Médée is at his shoulder and a faintly-effeminate, languorous quality in his bearing seems to foreshadow the weakening of will which undermines success. Similarly, in the first poem of the first section, 'Thème et variations', Kahn opposes to the positive, masculine principle of the 'ambre des toisons d'or',

'le bleu de ses azurs' and 'l'asyle de son geste affirmateur', the negative, feminine 'murs que sa parole lente (i.e. that which Médée whispers in Jason's ear) bâtit...autour des volontés de gravir les destins',<sup>49</sup> and concludes upon a note of self-doubt:

Verrai-je, sous ses pieds, blancs ainsi crépuscules,  
S'enfuir les cauchemars des lourdes canicules?  
(ibid.).<sup>50</sup>

In order to appreciate, however, the full importance of the Moreau exhibition for Kahn, it is necessary to situate it within the wider debate which was taking place in 1886 on the status of the legend in symbolist poetry. We have seen the importance attached to legend by Wagner (via Baudelaire's pages on the musician). The Symbolists, in this as in so many things, took Baudelaire at his word, with the result which we know, an invasion of their poetry by Lohengrin's swan and Siegfried's horn, by abandoned parks and mysterious castles and by Medieval cavaliers in search of inaccessible Grails. It is clear that many poets failed to overcome the dangers inherent in the use of such material. Instead of enriching the legend with a modern and personal interpretation, they all too frequently reduced it to a code. No doubt Mallarmé had seen the danger of this kind of approach to the legend, though it was not the only charge which he levelled against it. On one occasion, he questioned the entire basis of the procedure:

Si l'esprit français, strictement imaginaire et abstrait, donc poétique, jette un éclat, ce ne sera pas ainsi: il répugne, en cela d'accord avec l'Art dans son intégrité, qui est inventeur, à la Légende.

(S. Mallarmé: 'Richard Wagner. Rêverie d'un poète français', Revue wagnérienne, Tome I, n°VII, 8 août 1885, p.198).

One of the more intriguing problems of this period is that of knowing exactly what Mallarmé's 'pupils' actually made of such pronouncements. Not a great deal, if the reaction among them to his 'Hommage' to Wagner is anything to go by.<sup>51</sup> Yet even if they were unable to follow Mallarmé into the realms of abstraction in favour of which he rejected legend, still the negative attitude to that particular literary form seems clear enough in the lines quoted. My own view is that his remarks motivated Kahn into re-examining the entire question and what better way to do it than to return to its source, which, for Kahn, meant the painting of Moreau? It was perhaps inevitable that Kahn should come down on the side of Mallarmé, whose spiritual authority seems to have been irresistible to nearly all who came into contact with it but, here again, I am inclined to give Kahn the benefit of the doubt and to say that, in April 1886, he genuinely considered less urgent the lesson of Moreau's art for his own poetry and was not simply regurgitating the words of the Master. Of course, in Kahn's article on the Moreau exhibition, the admiration for such an independent painter remains strong:

Et dans ces grands rêves, ces évocations des légendes surannées, toujours l'orfèvrerie si intense du maître, les lapis, les violets et les pourpres, féeries à l'oeil.  
(G. Kahn: 'Chronique d'art', p.100).

Nevertheless, even in the terms of praise of 'M. Gustave Moreau si haut et si à part dans l'art actuel' (ibid., p.102), one senses that Kahn is beginning to look elsewhere.

The inner debate, of which, for Kahn,

the Moreau exhibition must have been the occasion, is the main theme of 'Lieds', the sixth section of Les Palais nomades. When the section opens, the poet has integrated the experience of love (enacted in the 'Voix au parc') within the general theme of perpetual metamorphosis. In a mood of increasing anxiety, he turns to legend, seeking again the participation of personal experience within history:

Et puisque tout est semblable, tous les soleils des années, toutes les souffrances des jours, écoute flotter et bruire l'âme de la légende... Regarde aux bariolures de passants, et sous tant de robes, tant de semblables coeurs.

(G. Kahn: Les Palais nomades, p.111).

The failure of a similar attempt in 'Intermède' prepares the reader for the negative conclusion reached. The charm of the legend proves powerless in the face of another past, that of the present moment just gone, though still working in the present and which is the individual's own creation:

Fuir vers le passé et citer de vérocité les illusaires, les débiles prouesses, et toujours et partout le dernier passé se lève, trouble, et dévaste...Partout et toujours le dernier passé, minute qui se perpétue de solitaire épouvante.

(ibid.,p.125).

At this point, it only remains for the poet to relegate the legend to the company of the 'masques antérieurs se poussierant aux coins' (ibid.,p.145). The hoped-for assurance dissolves into a question:

La Fantasmagorie des temps inélucidés de l'enfance, la mémoire passante du déçu, les braises des feux de jadis, et du noir autour des yeux, devant les yeux, est-ce donc tout? et le ressac brutal d'on ne sait quoi refoulé.  
(ibid.).



In order to suggest the hidden 'undertow' of modern experience, the legend, the translucent instrument of a lifeless past, is inadequate. A new poetic form is required. Kahn's journey through legend has led him towards a definition of the symbol.

The year 1886 marks the high point of Kahn's interest in Moreau's work. Three years later, in his review of the Universal Exhibition of 1889, his comments upon the same painter indicate an important stylistic shift which leaves Kahn still 'entre tous les symbolistes...la figure la plus significative et la plus complète':

Il y aurait beaucoup à dire sur la technique de M. Moreau; outrancière et pignochée dans l'ornement, elle est parfois hasardeuse dans les directions de couleur; le peintre paraît surtout tendre à une symphonie décorative dont un motif central de tête humaine détacherait le signification.

(G. Kahn: 'L'art français à l'exposition', La Vogue, nouv. sér., Tome II, 1889, p.129).

We may ignore the reference to the 'symphony'. Since Wyzéwa's article on Wagnerian painting, 'symphonies' were fairly common in the art criticism of the Symbolists. We may not, however, ignore the adjective, 'décorative', for it alone would be sufficient to indicate where Kahn's new preferences lay, were all other élues lacking. Consistent with the conclusion of Les Palais nomades, Kahn turned increasingly after 1886 from the art of Moreau to that of Puvis de Chavannes and, aided by Wyzéwa's praise of the same painter, took a large part of literary Symbolism with him. His close association with Seurat and Fénéon is again important here. Seurat had been one of Puvis' first admirers and had made, as early

as 1882, a copy of 'Le Pauvre pêcheur'. In his brochure on the Neo-Impressionists in 1886, Fénéon drew attention to stylistic similarities between the two painters.<sup>52</sup> Speaking of Seurat's 'Grande Jatte', the critic remarked:

...ces quelque quarante personnages sont investis d'un dessin hiératique et sommaire, traités rigoureusement ou de dos ou de face ou de profile, assis à angle droit, allongés horizontalement, dressés rigides: comme d'un Puvis modernisant.

(F. Fénéon: 'Les Impressionnistes en 1886' p.23).

This trend to decorative hieratism assumes greater significance in the light of Gauguin's evolution in 'La Vision après le sermon'. In April 1886, contemporaneous with the Seurat and Moreau exhibitions and the writing of Les Palais nomades, Kahn published a remarkable article on the aesthetics of polychrome glass. In it, he studied the work of Henry Cros, which he described as an application of the chromatic cercle of Charles Henry, in turn considered by Kahn as 'l'esthétique de l'avenir'.<sup>53</sup> The critic saw exciting possibilities in the colour-harmonies which would result from placing polychrome glass between the spectator and the object:

Un curieux de suggestions exactes pourrait à une verrière, par un très simple système de rails, faire se succéder les paysages, incendier de la lumière extérieure les midis, estomper des couchers de soleil, évoquer par les choses le milieu et l'heure de la légende, ou, à son caprice, colorer de lumières dissemblables des arabesques. Ne serait-ce pas la magie rêvée par Charles Baudelaire, la chambre double, multiple, heureuse évocatrice, l'échappatoire des cages actuelles.

(ibid., p.65).

It would be wrong to consider Kahn's interest as just another ex-

ample of the morbid pursuit of rare sensations, exemplified by the multi-coloured shell of des Esseintes' hapless tortoise. 'Henry Cros sera suivi', Kahn asserted (ibid., p.61), though, at the time of writing, he could hardly have known how right he was. Cros' example was followed by Anquetin, who developed the technique known as 'cloisonnisme' by studying the changes in colour which resulted from looking at objects through the coloured panes of his veranda. Gauguin learned of these experiments through Bernard and employed them in 'La Vision...' When, in March 1888, two paintings by Anquetin went on show in the offices of La Revue indépendante, Dujardin, three years before Aurier, saw in this pictorial style a parallel trend to literary Symbolism:

Le point de départ est une conception symbolique de l'art...Le but de la peinture, de la littérature, est de donner...le sentiment des choses, ce qu'il convient d'exprimer c'est, non l'image, mais le caractère...le peintre...ne cherchera qu'à fixer, en le moindre nombre possible de lignes et de couleurs caractéristiques, la réalité intime, l'essence de l'objet qu'il s'impose.

(E. Dujardin: 'Aux XX et aux Indépendants. Le cloisonnisme', La Revue indépendante, Tome 6, n°17, Mars 1888, p.489).

In these terms, Dujardin defined the symbolism of Japanese and primitive art (and of its popular, contemporary manifestation in the imagery of Epinal).<sup>54</sup> The following month, in the same review, Kahn repeated this view of the symbol as formal simplification in his remark that the symbol 'est la présentation, en un livre ou un poème, d'une série de faits passionnels ou intellectuels par le plus caractéristique de ces faits'<sup>55</sup> and takes one Maurice Bouchor to task for failing to conform to that definition of the artist in

terms of which Dujardin had praised Anquetin:

Dans un phénomène moderne l'homme qui passe, vit et souffre, est un fait d'existence; le poète qui débarasse son essence des vêtements et des petits détails modernes et fait parler sa voix en un poème, dresse un symbole.

(ibid., p.158).

A.-G. Lehmann is wrong in my view to consider Kahn's remarks as little more than a variation of Taine's 'caractère essentiel ou saillant'.<sup>56</sup> Kahn's view of the symbol as the simplification of artistic means resulted from his own practice of free verse, with its juxtaposition of basic units of meaning, and from the stylistic link which he established between Seurat and Puvis de Chavannes. It would in turn enable him to understand rather better than the majority of his contemporaries the innovations of Gauguin. Another case in point is Charles Morice. When, in 1889, he published La Littérature de tout à l'heure, he had not yet discovered Gauguin's work. The analysis of Eugène Carrière, however, who, at that time, was Morice's favourite painter, made his later admiration for Gauguin a logical one.

En parfait artiste, il a mis dans les moyens de son expression le symbole d'elle-même, dans ce choix de tons blancs et gris, vaporeuses consistances, solidités non privées de légèretés. Et le décor, quelconque, s'abolit quant à ses prétextes de meubles ou de murs, pour ne plus retenir que cette essence harmonieuse: les rapports et les écarts de ton.

(Ch. Morice: La Littérature..., p.286).

One should be grateful to Morice for revealing so clearly the sources of his understanding of the contribution made by formal elements to art's expression of an idealist content. His words are

a near plagiarism of Mallarmé. The disappearance of everyday, household objects in Carrière's work reminds Morice of the fate of the bibelot, which, in Mallarmé's sonnet, is also 'aboli'.<sup>57</sup> The reference to the 'solidités nonprivées de légèretés' is a clear echo of Mallarmé's description of Manet's 'Le Linge'. Like Mallarmé, Morice is attracted by the 'miraculeuse ressource qui permet à la forme artistique d'être le symbole elle-même du symbole où s'accomplit en beauté le fait métaphysique'.<sup>58</sup>

The analysis of Manet by Mallarmé, of Carrière by Morice, of Seurat and Puvis by Kahn represent an important departure from the pictorial tastes of Huysmans, whose art criticism dominated the decadent period from 1882 to 1885. As late as 1889, Huysmans forbade anyone to mention Puvis de Chavannes in the same breath as his beloved Moreau<sup>59</sup> but, by 1886, he was already wasting his time. His over-emphasis upon erotic and fantastic subject-matter alienated those critics who, for the reasons which we have seen, sought to reconcile Impressionism, Neo-Impressionism and the art of Puvis within a wider trend towards decorative hieratism, in which the criticism of Huysmans played no part. This chapter has mainly been concerned with Kahn's contribution to this trend. Through his poetry and his criticism, it was considerable. Modern historians of Symbolism, when they refer to Kahn at all, usually do so in a derogatory way. No doubt they would have been kinder had Kahn not insisted so much upon the value of his own contribution to Symbolism. In this sense, perhaps he only has himself to blame. Nevertheless, as a poet he has been too quickly

dismissed as a period piece, while his criticism has not been studied at all. In a sense, Kahn was a period piece, though just why this should be considered so disreputable, I am not quite sure. Much of his interest seems to me to derive from the fact that, in addition to being fully involved in the literary fashions of his period, he was also genuinely seeking to understand the enormous implications for poetry and painting of the changes introduced into their respective arts by Mallarmé and the Impressionists. He was a better poet than he is usually given credit for, while, among the young writers of the late 1880's, only Fénéon wrote finer art criticism.

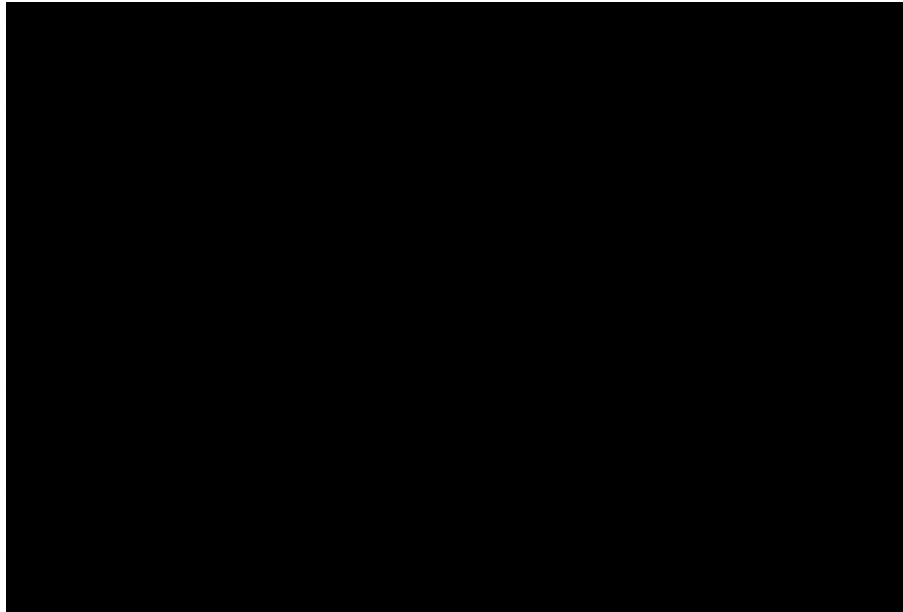
We saw, in the theoretical part of this study (cf. *supra*, pp. 92-4), that the close association of Impressionism and the art of Puvis de Chavannes involved, for the majority of the literary symbolist circle, a common approach to their subject-matter. Kahn, on the other hand, is an example of a poet who tried to follow Mallarmé's example and see the relationships between idealist and impressionist tendencies as different means to the same end, the expression of some essential truth via the rejuvenation of artistic means. But upon whichever criteria the association was based, the literary Symbolists in general did not consider their poetry to form part of a movement parallel to post-impressionist painting. Aurier's article on Gauguin tried to change this:

L'impressionnisme, c'est et ce ne peut être qu'une variété du réalisme, un réalisme affiné, spiritualisé, dilettantisé, mais toujours le réalisme. Le but visé, c'est encore l'imitation de la matière, non plus peut-être avec sa forme

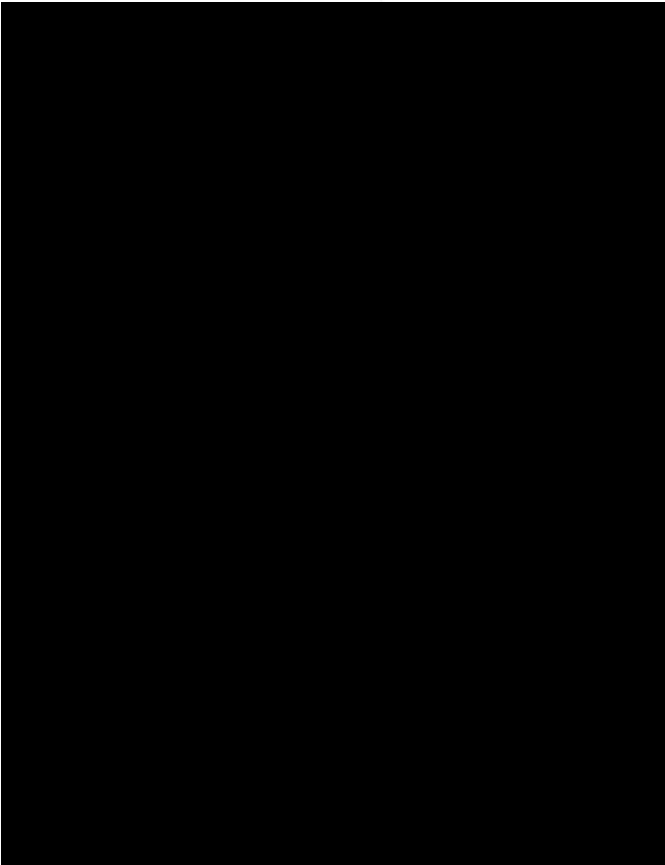
propre, avec sa couleur propre, mais avec sa forme perçue, c'est la traduction de la sensation avec tous les imprévus d'une notation instantanée, avec toutes les déformations d'une rapide synthèse subjective.

(A. Aurier: 'Le symbolisme...', p.157).

Yet the 'contingencies of an instantaneous notation' and the 'deformations of a rapid, subjective synthesis' were, as we have seen, precisely the reasons behind Kahn's search for 'une poésie extrêmement personnelle, cursive et notante' which he (and Aurier too, presumably) felt that he had achieved in Les Palais nomades. As Aurier was writing the lines just quoted, Monet was proving, through his haystack series of 1891, that to push the theory of observation implicit in Impressionism to its extremes was to push painting completely onto the side of subjectivity. In these paintings, optical contrasts are reduced to a minimum and a single tone becomes the dominant note of the composition, so that one contrast, one tone stands for all the others, or, as Mallarmé would have said, suggests them. Such an extreme accentuation of the visual sensation and a departure from it are one and the same thing.<sup>60</sup> What is more, Aurier, in his review of the haystack series, seems to have understood this, for there, he writes that Monet paints 'pour que soit transmuée cette méprisable réalité en délicieux paradis fleuri de gemmes et de sourires'.<sup>61</sup> Nor was this insight into the relationship between Symbolism and the limits of Impressionism an isolated case. On another occasion, he characterised the visual 'prettiness' of Renoir as 'un joli symbolique, symbolique de son âme d'artiste, de ses idées, de ses compréhensions cosmologiques'.<sup>62</sup> A Pissarro painting is also described as

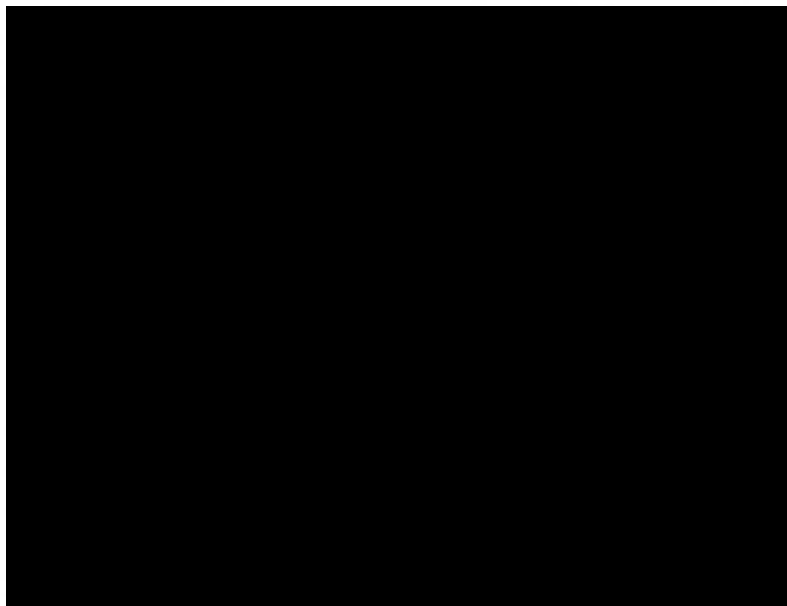


C. Monet: 'Impression, soleil levant', 1872, 50 X 65 cm., Musée Marmottan, Paris.



C. Monet: 'Portail de la Cathédrale de Rouen, temps gris', 1894, 100 X 65 cm., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen.

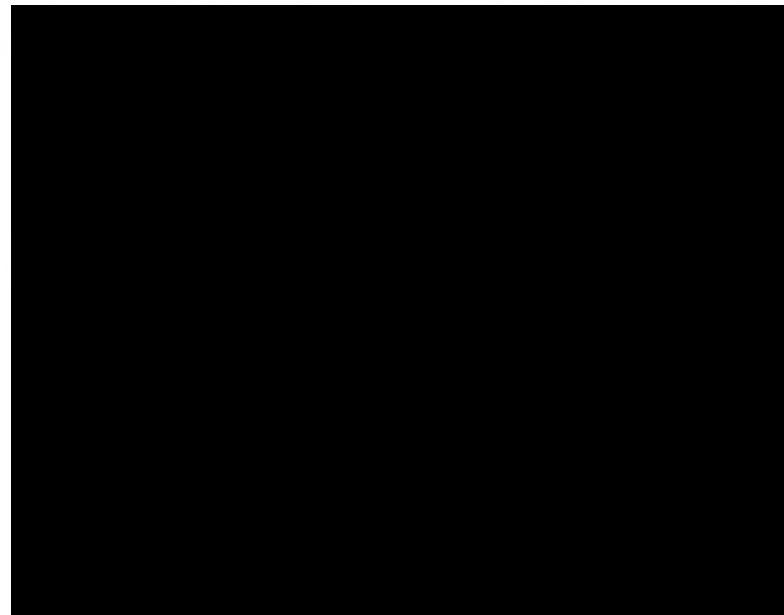




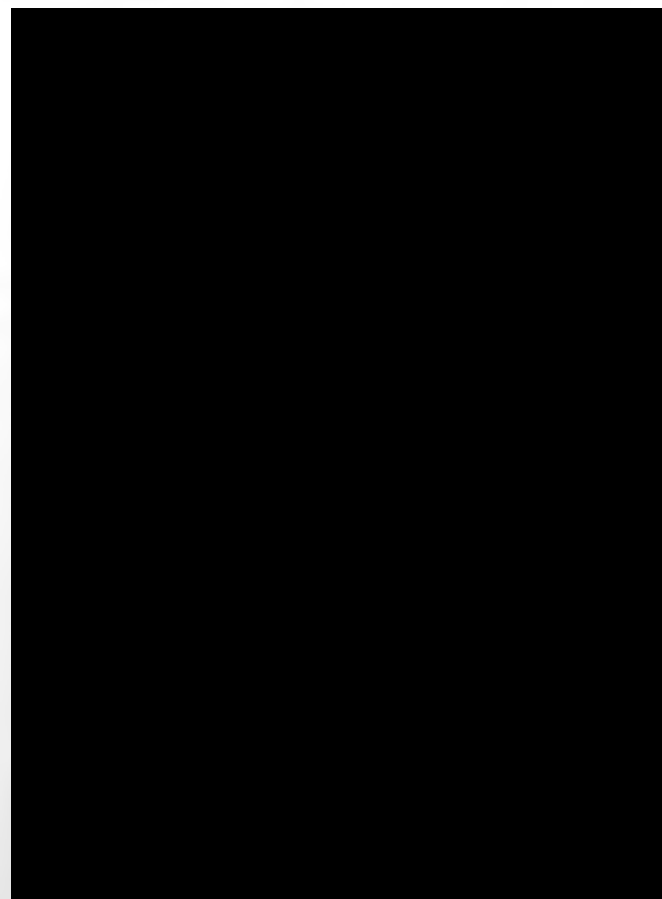
C. Monet: 'Etretat', 1883, 66 X 81 cm., Musée du Louvre, Paris.



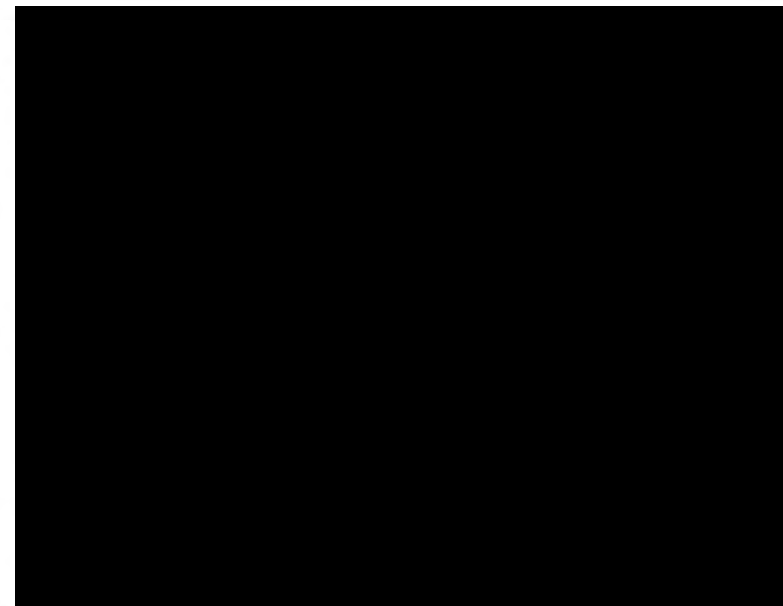
C. Monet: 'La Cathédrale de Rouen, harmonie bleue, soleil matinal', 1894, 100 X 65 cm., Musée du Jeu-de-Paume, Paris.



C. Monet: 'Etretat', 1883, 66 X 81 cm., Musée du Louvre, Paris.



C. Monet: 'La Cathédrale de Rouen, harmonie bleue, soleil matinal', 1894, 100 X 65 cm., Musée du Jeu-de-Paume, Paris.



C. Monet: 'Etretat', 1883, 66 X 81 cm., Musée du Louvre, Paris.



C. Monet: 'La Cathédrale de Rouen, harmonie bleue, soleil matinal', 1894, 100 X 65 cm., Musée du Jeu-de-Paume, Paris.

'une admirable symphonie'.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps his intransigence of March 1891 was adopted to some extent at least for the sake of effect, so as to ensure maximum publicity for Gauguin, who was bullying Aurier for all the publicity he could get. Whatever the reasons, Aurier's article provoked the outburst from Pissarro with which I opened this chapter. He saw the distance which Aurier put between Impressionism and Symbolism as further proof of fin-de-siècle aestheticism. The literary Symbolists would themselves become increasingly concerned about being divorced from reality by Aurier's flights into the ideal. It is rather ironic that in insisting upon the divorce between pictorial Symbolism and Impressionism, Aurier's article marked the beginning of the end of the literary movement. That, however, is a different story. This chapter has been concerned with the union of literary Symbolism and Impressionism and Neo-Impressionism, not with their divorce. June 1886 and March 1891 are two important dates in the history of literary Symbolism. They have not received the attention which they deserve.

Notes to Chapter Five.

1. C. Pissarro: Lettres à son fils..., p.93.
2. B. Crémieux: 'L'oeuvre de Gustave Kahn', Le Monde nouveau, Tome IV, n°14, 15 juillet 1923, p.101.
3. G. Kahn: Les Palais nomades, Paris, Tresse et Stock, 1887.
4. By F. Fénéon, in his brochure: Les Impressionnistes en 1886, Paris, Publications de La Vogue, 1886, p.24.
5. See Kahn's remark in Silhouettes littéraires: "'Vous fîtes mon premier visiteur", me disait Stéphane Mallarmé, un soir de banquet littéraire'(p.11).
6. cf. Verlaine's famous description of the poet:  

La profonde originalité de Ch. Baudelaire, c'est... de représenter puissamment et essentiellement l'homme moderne...tel que l'ont fait les raffinements d'une civilisation excessive...avec ses sens aiguisés et vibrants, son esprit douloureusement subtil, son cerveau saturé de tabac, son sang brûlé d'alcool, le bilio-nerveux par excellence, comme dirait H. Taine. [Verlaine's italics].

(P. Verlaine: 'Charles Baudelaire', L'Art, 1ère année, n°3, 16 novembre 1865, p.2).
7. A sample taken from Le Chat noir would include 'Mysticisme', also by Le Cardonnell (n°101, 15 décembre 1883, p.193), 'Epode', by Moréas (n°49, 16 décembre 1882, p. 4 ) and two poems by J. Ajalbert, 'Pointe sèche' (n°158, 17 janvier 1885, p.424) and 'Neige à minuit' (n°164, 28 février 1885, p.446). Pissarro, in the letter referred to in note 1, included among the young poets 'le jeune auteur des vers impressionnistes'(loc.cit.), who, though not named, was almost certainly Ajalbert, who, in addition to the poems of Le Chat noir, also published Sur le vif, vers impressionnistes (Paris,

Tresse et Stock, 1886) and Paysages de femmes. Impressions, (Paris, Vanier, 1887).

8. That this problem was an important one in Parisian literary circles of the early 1880's is clear from the following ironic portrayal of it:

Il est encore impossible de faire un poème épique, de plusieurs milliers de vers, qui serait un chef d'oeuvre, parce qu'il donnerait au lecteur intéressé par l'intrigue les sensations les plus diverses et les plus émouvantes, et qui, cependant, ne serait écrit dans aucune langue connue, mais avec des assemblages habiles de voyelles et de consonnes sans signification. Qui sait ce travail n'est pas impossible, il est seulement difficile, puisque voici le commencement de la chanson de la petite pluie:

Flic, Floc  
Floc, Flic

(F. Champsaur: Dinah Samuel, Paris, Ollendorf, 1882, p.270).

9. G. Kahn: 'L'Alcool', Revue moderne et naturaliste, 2e année, n°19, 1er décembre 1879, pp.644-5).

10. See Laforgue's letter to Kahn, 29 November 1883 in: Lettres à un ami (Introduction et notes de G. Jean-Aubry), Paris, Mercure de France, 1941, p.49.

11. The discovery took place in 1881 and was clearly an important event in Laforgue's artistic life. In December 1880, he wrote to Kahn of a book which he was planning and whose subject would be 'chaque peintre qui a créé un monde' (J. Laforgue: Lettres..., p. 22) and 'la sensation du monde créé par ce peintre' (ibid.). The painters included Watteau, da Vinci, Michaelangelo, Rembrandt - the pictorial tastes of the Goncourts, in other words. In his reply, Kahn must have commented upon the lack of Manet and Monet, for Laforgue then wrote: 'Comme vous dites, je mettrai Monet dans mon livre, mais il me faudra voir une collection de Manets' (ibid., p.25). Laforgue went on to ask: 'A propos, connaissez-vous le paysagiste

impressionniste Pissarro [sic]?' (ibid., p.27). By 6 December 1881, Laforque's education into Impressionism was complete. In a letter of that date to Ephrussi, he spoke at length and with some emotion of his admiration for these painters. See J. Laforque: Mélanges posthumes, Tome III, Paris, Mercure de France, 1903, p.225.

12. In another letter to Kahn, Laforque compared himself to a Catholic 'pénétré de sa foi par toutes les pores; la mienne vous le savez, est la philosophie de l'Inconscient, elle est tout pour moi, et répond de tout et à tout. Dans la rue, en soirée, dans un tête-à-tête, sur une phrase, quand un point m'arrête et m'intéresse, je m'amuse à le résoudre par l'infailible inconscient' (J. Laforque: Lettres..., p.59).

13. J. Laforque: 'L'Impressionnisme', in: Mélanges..., Tome III, p.133.

14. See Kahn's review of Verlaine's Amour in: 'Chronique de la littérature et de l'art', La Revue indépendante, Tome 71, n°19, Mai 1888, p.346.

15. E. Dujardin: 'Les premiers poètes du vers libre', Mercure de France, Tome 146, n°546, Mars 1921, p.586). Dujardin had in mind the two Rimbaud poems, 'Marine' and 'Mouvement', which were published in La Vogue (Tome I, n°6, 29 mai 1886, n°9, 21 juin 1886), the second only a week before Kahn's first free verse. Kahn, however insisted upon the difference between his free verse and any other sort of verse, whether of Rimbaud, Laforque or Baudelaire. See his preface on free verse to the edition of his Premiers poèmes, Paris, Mercure de France, 1897, pp.3-38.

16. Paul Adam, though an admirer of the Goncourts, wrote of their literary style in the following way:

Leurs livres traduisirent strictement des contemplations fragmentaires de paysages, d'intérieurs, de personnes,

sans que leur art reliait ces fragments par l'étude des rapports occultes qui les vivifiaient.

(P. Adam: 'Les frères de Goncourt', La Cravache, n°408, 15 décembre 1888).

Before Adam, René Ghil had stressed the limitations of the Goncourts' detailed, analytic, descriptive style:

Cet impressionnisme est dans les Goncourt : mais ce qui leur demande une page, devra se resserrer en cinq ou six lignes, sous peine de longueurs.

(R. Ghil: Légendes d'âmes et de sangs, Paris, Frinzine et Cie., 1885, p.9).

It is interesting to see that Ghil proposed, as a model for this new, synthetic Impressionism, Mallarmé's 'L'Après-midi d'un faune' (ibid., pp.10-12).

17. C. Mauclair: L'Art en silence, p.173.

18. Moreau's exhibits were: 'Hercule et l'hydre de Lerne', 'Salomé dansant devant Hérode', 'L'Apparition' (watercolour) and 'Saint Sébastien et un Ange'.

19. In addition to the four works named in the previous note, Moreau exhibited 'Sphinx deviné', 'David méditant', 'Jacob et l'Ange', 'Moïse exposé sur le Nil' and the watercolours 'Phaeton', 'Salomé au jardin', 'Le Péri' and 'Un Massier'.

20. Here, he exhibited 'Galatée' and 'Hélène sur les remparts de Troie'.

21. The pre-1869 paintings of actualized myth showing large representative figures gave way to the rich accumulation of detail which was to earn for Moreau the reputation of the 'jeweller'. See, in this respect, J. Paladilhe and J. Pierre: Gustave Moreau, Paris, Nazan, 1971 and R. von Holten: L'Art fantastique de Gustave Moreau, Paris, Pauvert, 1960. The later style, with its intense physical richness, profoundly affected Huysmans.

22. Ch. Baudelaire: 'Richard Wagner...' in Oeuvres complètes, p. 1221.

23. T. Gautier: 'Salon de 1865. VII. Peinture', Le Moniteur universel, n°190, 9. juillet 1865.

24. J. Laforgue: Mélanges posthumes, Tome III, p.188. P. Leprieur, in an important study, Gustave Moreau et son oeuvre. (Paris, Aux Bureaux de "L'Artiste", 1889) also wrote that 'M. Gustave Moreau a puisé à l'école de Squarcione et de Mantegna l'amour des choses luxueuses et brillantes...' (p.19).

25. T. de Wyzéwa: 'Notes sur la peinture wagnérienne...', p.113.

26. J.-K. Huysmans: A Rebours, p.74. This description must have appeared fantastic to Moreau. It can only, in my view, have reinforced Moreau's already-firm intention to withdraw from public life. Huysmans did not 'discover' Moreau, as is sometimes said. Nor, unlike what he did for Redon, did he significantly increase the number of the painter's admirers. His importance lies in the sort of painter which he imposed upon the public. Henceforth, Moreau was known mainly as the painter of Salomé, the myth of woman, the incarnation of eternal luxury which combined mythological distance with an intense, physical presence. Certain writers, such as Lorrain, Samain and Régner, became obsessed with the myth. During the 1880's, Wyzéwa, Kahn and Leprieur tried to correct Moreau's public image, as fixed by Huysmans, and to re-integrate the painter within the mainstream of Symbolism, but to little avail. Following his death in 1898, critics such as A. Renan and L. Bénédict again tried to rid him of the charge of morbidity and exacerbated sensibility, while Schuré went as far as to see in Moreau's painting that reconciliation between ancient religion and modern science for which he called in 1889 (cf. *supra*, p.114). For him, Moreau's work 'a le double mérite de s'accorder avec la



plus antique sagesse et avec la grande idée de l'évolution, mise en lumière par la science moderne' (E. Schuré: 'La peinture psychique et le symbolisme transcendant' in: Précurseurs et Révoltés, Paris, Perrin, 1904, p.354). Despite this, Huysmans' definition proved very difficult to shift. The result was that when society's attitude to woman changed (as a result of the First World War), when the myth incarnated by Salomé no longer corresponded to this attitude, Moreau's art disappeared too. Moreau paid for the fifteen years of fame which Huysmans ensured with approximately fifty of oblivion.

27. See J.C. Ireson: L'Oeuvre poétique de Gustave Kahn (1859-1936), Paris, Nizet, 1962, p.41. This is the only serious study of Kahn's poetry which exists. As for the novels and the art criticism, everything remains to be done.

28. The painting was begun in the autumn of 1884, continued until March 1885, resumed in October 1885 and completed in time for the eighth impressionist exhibition of May-June 1886. The chronology is important for it establishes the anteriority of Seurat. His painting was well advanced when Kahn began work upon Les Palais nomades. In 1888, Jules Christophe wrote that though the painting was shown only in 1886 in public, it was 'vue et étudiée par plusieurs "artistes indépendants" bien avant...' (J. Christophe: 'Albert Dubois-Pillet', La Cravache, n°395, 15 septembre 1888). Kahn's close friendship with Seurat makes it certain that he was among the visitors.

29. For a general survey of Neo-Impressionism, see J. Rewald: Post-Impressionism..., pp.79-146 and C.E. Gauss: The Aesthetic Theories..., pp.23-34.

30. W.I. Homer: Seurat and the Science of Painting, Cambridge (Mass.), M.I.T. Press, 1964.

31. Homer, op.cit.,p.163.

32. It is not surprising to find other critics who were close to Kahn in the second half of the 1880's interpreting Seurat's work in the same way. Thus Paul Adam praised 'la beauté de ce dessin hiératique...' (i.e. of 'La Grande jatte'). See P. Adam: 'Peintres impressionnistes' Revue contemporaine Tome IV, n°4, Avril 1886, p.550 and T. de Wyzéwa: 'Georges Seurat', L'Art dans les deux mondes n°22, 18 avril 1891, pp.263-4.

33. G. Kahn: 'Réponse des symbolistes', L'Événement, 15<sup>e</sup> année, n°5301, 28 septembre 1886).

34. One cannot help but notice Kahn's use of the verb 'diviser'. Seurat always preferred the term 'divisionnisme' to that of 'pointillisme' as a description of his painting. It is also interesting to see the way in which Kahn adopts Seurat's scientific Neo-Impressionism without being caught in the scientism of René Ghil. Kahn was not advocating the application to poetry of laws as rigid as those of optics, for the emotion of which each verbal unit was to provide the equivalent was the affair of each poet. We have already seen this reply at work in the arguments over synaesthesia (cf., supra, chap.III, pp.140-1).

35. Referring later to Seurat, Kahn wrote:

Il était un peu inquiet du point de contact que sa technique picturale avait avec la technique vers libriste. Là on pouvait leur donner quelques explications.

(G. Kahn: 'Au temps...', p.15).

It is important to note that, in the second half of the 1880's, Kahn's collaboration to a literary review invariably resulted in extracts of Henry's work appearing in the same place. A brief examination of La Vogue, La Revue indépendante and La Cravache during the years in question confirms this. A systematic study of Kahn's art-and literary criticism of this period reveals numerous refer-

ences to Henry's work.

36. F. Fénéon: 'Gustave Kahn', Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui, Tome 8, n°360, 1890.

37. G. Kahn: Premiers poèmes, p.17.

38. See, in this respect, P.M. Jones: 'The First Theory of the "vers libre"' in: The Background of Modern French Poetry. Essays and Interviews, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1951, p.128

39. Thus, 'au sens de Dujardin, les premiers vers libres publiés par Kahn se trouveraient dans la pièce n°IV d''Intermède', ce qui nous paraît exact' (Ireson, op.cit.,p.81). Unfortunately, the poem in question does not form part of the very incomplete manuscript version of Les Palais nomades at present in the manuscripts department of the Bibliothèque Nationale (N.a.fr. 15869). The manuscript in fact contains only 16 brief extracts. All quotations are, therefore taken from the original edition referred to in note 3, above.

40. In classical antiquity, the crane's dance was a movement invented by Theseus as he sought to describe the twists and turns made in the labyrinth by Ariadne's magical ball of thread. Given Kahn's passion for mythology, it would have been strange indeed had he been unaware of this association, all the more so since the dance which has adopted this movement, 'le branle', is always performed by two dancers who lead the others through the same movements. Its relationship to the theme of the poem seems too close to be coincidental.

41. Q. Bell, in quite a different context, discusses an anonymous caricature entitled 'La Ménagerie impériale: la grue', for the term was frequently used as an unflattering reference to the wife

of Napoleon III. For all we know, the word may have provided the child Kahn with his first lesson in the use of allegory. See Q. Bell: Form and Content, Hull, University of Hull Publications, 1966, pp.12-3.

42. Other examples of this literary impressionism include the following:

O cortège épandu des blancheurs de ses voiles  
(ibid., p.26).

Vers l'ondoyance des futurs  
(ibid., p.12).

Un peu de blond, un peu de bleu, un peu de blanc  
(ibid., p.41).

43. By way of example, obscurity:

S'ils ont quelque autre mérite, avec celui d'être en général inintelligibles, c'est de trahir, dans les rares endroits que l'on croit comprendre, une ineffable ignorance de toutes choses...

(F. Brunetière: 'Symbolistes...', p.216).

and plagiarism:

Gustave Kahn wrote little more than depressed pastiches of Baudelaire and Verlaine.

(C.L. Campos: 'Symbolism and Mallarmé' in: J. Cruickshank (ed.): French Literature and its Background, Vol. 5, The Late Nineteenth Century, Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1969, p.141).

44. Mallarmé did not consider Kahn's free verse to have abolished the alexandrine:

...notez bien que je ne vous considère pas comme ayant mis le doigt sur une forme nouvelle devant quoi s'effacera l'ancienne: cette dernière restera, impersonnelle...  
(ibid.)

45. A. Mockel: Propos..., p.61.

46. The other six watercolours were 'Bethsabée', 'L'Eléphant sacré', 'Salomé à la prison', 'Le Poète persan', 'Ganymède' and 'Le Sphinx vainqueur'.

47. The same watercolour provided a second image, this one more immediately related to its visual source:

Et la conquête dans les pourpres et les oriflammes  
l'ascension latente à lointains paradis  
les éléphants caparaçonnés des escarboucles du jadis  
et les caravelles aux joyeuses flammes  
Ah morne découverte aux blessures entr'ouvertes  
en détresse.

(G. Kahn: Les Palais nomades, p.158).

Images of colour and richness serve to emphasize by opposition the despair which follows unfulfilled hope.

48. Ephrussi, if he did not actually contribute to Kahn's list of admired painters, must at least have confirmed them, for, as well as being the author of an important study of Dürer, published in 1882, he was a great admirer of Moreau and one of the first collectors of the Impressionists. Both A. Marguillier (Charles Ephrussi, Paris, Impr. de la Gazette des beaux-arts, 1905, p.2) and Renoir (in: Vollard: La Vie et l'oeuvre..., p.97: 'J'arrive, un jour, chez lui; je tombe sur un Gustave Moreau!') confirm his ownership of 'Jason et Médée', while Leprieux (op.cit., p.24) also mentions a Moreau watercolour in Ephrussi's collection, 'Hésiode inspiré par la muse'.

49. G. Kahn: 'Les Palais nomades, p.11.

50. The same theme is repeated in the fifth poem of the section, 'Voix au par':

La chimère est en moi, mais molle est ma ceinture,  
O chercheur des toisons perlées de l'aventure  
(ibid., p.91).

where the focus of interest is no longer Jason, as in the previous example, but Médée. Here, Kahn symbolizes the weakening of Jason

through the image of the loosely-hanging belts worn by both figures in the picture, as though to suggest that Médée's damage is already done.

51. See Guichard: La Musique..., pp.91-2.

52. They were confirmed by Kahn:

Actuellement le néo-impressionnisme scrute les variations de la couleur, note les jeux de la couleur locale, et cherche, en une synthèse des lignes des tableaux, un complet hiératisme.

Ne sont-ce pas les mêmes mots qui caractérisent le mieux l'essence de M. Puvis de Chavannes.

(G. Kahn: 'Exposition Puvis de Chavannes', La Revue indépendante, Tome 6, n°15, Janvier 1888, p.142).

and by Emile Bernard:

Les grands combinaisons simplistes de Puvis engendèrent le style définitif de Seurat, style, qui remontant jusqu'aux hiératiques, nous valut l'aspect raidi des promeneurs de "L'Île de la Grande Jatte"

(E. Bernard: Le Symbolisme pictural, Brussels, Editions de la Nouvelle revue belge, 1943, p.62.

53. G. Kahn: 'De l'esthétique du verre polychrome', La Vogue, 1ère sér., n°2, 18 avril 1886, p.61.

54. cf. supra, chap. II, p.61. It is a surprising fact that in histories of Cloisonism, Kahn's name is never mentioned, despite his undoubtedly defining its principles earlier than Dujardin, in his article on Cros.

55. G. Kahn: 'Chronique de littérature et de l'art', La Revue indépendante, Tome 7, n°18, Avril 1888, p.156.

56. A.G. Lehmann: The Symbolist Aesthetic..., p.255.

57. cf: Aboli bibelot d'inanité sonore,

(S. Mallarmé: 'Ses purs ongles très haut dédiant leur onyx', in: Oeuvres complètes, p.68).

and the opening line of the poem: 'Une dentelle s'abolit (ibid., p.74).

58. Ch. Morice: La Littérature..., p.383. While Morice drew attention to the mystical properties of artistic form, G. Vanor, in: L'Art symboliste, published the same year, defined a traditional theory of mystical subject-matter with his remark (p.35) that 'l'art est l'oeuvre d'inscrire un dogme dans un symbole humain...' - the theory of Aurier, in other words. In his review of Vanor's book, G. Lecomte ('L'art symboliste', La Cravache, n°428, 3 mai 1889) wrote that this view reduced the symbol to a tautology. In the next issue of the same review, Kahn wrote an open letter to Lecomte, dissociating himself from Vanor's definition.

59. One wonders what the Symbolists can have made of the following:

Comparer M. Puvis et M. Gustave Moreau, les marior,  
alors qu'il s'agit de raffinement, les confondre en une  
botte d'admiration unique, c'est commettre vraiment une  
des plus obséquieuses hérésies qui se puissent voir.

(J.-K. Huysmans: Certains, Paris, Tresse et Stock, 1889,  
p.16).

Fénéon, in a review of Huysmans' book, politely but firmly rejected this opposition. See F. Fénéon: 'Certains', p.454.

60. The 1891 Haystack series confirmed the stylistic trend which other symbolist poets had understood two years before, during the Monet-Rodin exhibition at the G. Petit galleries. Of it, A. Fontainas wrote that 'une exposition inoubliable m'avait, à moi, épanoui l'entendement' (A. Fontainas: Mes Souvenirs..., p.100). Similarly, another wrote that Monet 'a su aimer et comprendre la nature dans ses incarnations infinies...' (J. A(ntoine): 'Exposition de la galerie Georges Petit', Art et critique, 1ère année, n°5, 29 juin 1889, p.77). See also, above, chap.II, p.94.

61. G.-A. Aurier: 'Claude Monet', Mercure de France, Tome 4, n°28, Avril 1892, p.304.

62. G.-A. Aurier: 'Renoir', Mercur de France, Tome 3, n°20, Août 1891, p.104. Wyzéwa, when, in 1895, he re-published his article on Wagnerian painting written nine years before, made one significant textual change. He awarded pride of place to Renoir:

...M. Renoir exprime naïvement, en des jeux de couleurs qui ravissent comme des chants et comme des caresses les doux rêves ingénus d'une âme quasi d'enfant...

(T. de Wyzéwa: 'L'art wagnérien: La peinture' in: Nos maîtres, Paris, Perrin, 1895, p.25).

63. G.-A. Aurier: 'Exposition Pissarro', Mercur de France, Tome 4, n°27, Mars 1892, p.283. I. Higgins, in an article entitled 'Towards a Poetic Theatre: Poetry and the Plastic Arts in Verhaeren's Aesthetics' (in: I. Higgins (ed.) Literature and the Plastic Arts, 1880-1930, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1973) refers to Aurier as the spokesman of Gauguin and the Nabis in their aim 'to express the truth both of themselves and of the world' (p.1). He goes on to say, however, that the theories and practice of these artists 'have in common a theoretic failure to integrate the iconic and the abstraction of line on the one hand, and the element of self-expression on the other' (ibid., p.2). Yet in a mystical conception of art such as that held by Gauguin and Sérusier, no such contradiction is implied, since the objective aesthetic laws of the decorative were themselves the symbol of the mystical knowledge which the painter derived from his experience of reality. If Aurier failed to integrate the elements of abstraction and self-expression, it was not because such integration was theoretically impossible but because the decadent and neo-platonic elements in his approach prevented him from posing the theoretical problem in these terms. Yet, even here, despite the evidence of decadent and neo-platonic tendencies in his criticism, it is dangerous to be too dogmatic. It is not easy to be certain about a critic who so vociferously attacks Impressionism while praising Monet, Renoir and Pissarro.



Chapter Six. Gauguin and Jarry: The Men with the Axe.<sup>+</sup>

'Que ma fuite soit une défaite, mon retour sera une victoire', Charles Morice quoted Gauguin as saying upon the latter's return to France in August 1893.<sup>1</sup> In the isolation of Tahiti, the painter had evidently not abandoned either his need for artistic acceptance or his instinct for commerce. No sooner had he decided to leave the South Seas than he began to prepare the ground for what he hoped would be a triumphant exhibition in Paris in the autumn. He sent on ahead of him eight of the Tahiti paintings and wrote long letters to his wife and friends explaining in detail the theory behind them.<sup>2</sup> It was all to no avail. 'Et le retour aggravait la défaite du départ, irrémédiablement', Morice noted sadly (*ibid.*). For one young poet, however, Gauguin's exhibition of Tahiti paintings represented an important discovery. Its example contributed to the abstract poetic language developed during this period by Alfred Jarry.

In public reaction to the Tahiti paintings we encounter a viciousness equalled only by the abuse heaped upon Manet during the exhibition of 'Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe' in 1863 and 'Olympia', two years later. The conservative press tore into Gauguin with a relish which recalls the worst days of Albert Wolff. The reaction of the Impressionists was more surprising. Only Degas had a kind word to say. Pissarro repeated the charge of plagiarism which he had already levelled against Gauguin two years before, while Renoir and Monet simply hated the whole

<sup>+</sup>Footnotes to this chapter begin on p.339.

thing.<sup>3</sup> As for the symbolist poets, the exhibition brought to an end any hope which Gauguin might still have held of being accepted by the literary movement. In the Mercure de France, Mauclair began his campaign of systematic denigration, for which support was not slow in coming. In a letter applauding Mauclair's reference to Gauguin's 'art criard et sans goût',<sup>4</sup> Adolphe Retté denounced the 'stupéfiantes prétentions...la tapageuse ignorance de ces peintres naguère étiquetés déformateurs, aujourd'hui, symbolistes'.<sup>5</sup> No insult is too strong.

Il [i.e. Mauclair] est dans le vrai lorsqu'il affirme l'insignifiance absolue de ces peintures à prétentions exorbitantes qui ne révèlent que fautes de dessin sous prétexte de synthèse, gâchis de couleurs crues sous prétexte de naïveté, méconnaissance des lois les plus naturelles - laideur effroyable. Ces peintres sont gâtés de littérature, boursoufflés de vanité; leurs audaces, on doit les dénoncer: truquages de paresseux. Je n'ai pas été à Taïti, cependant je crois avoir le droit de dire que les toiles de Gauguin me semblent hideuses.

(ibid.).

Language such as this might have been expected from the art critic of Le Figaro. Coming from the author of Cloches en la nuit and a major participant in the literary movement of the 1890's, it raises important problems. Retté's blast against Gauguin was followed soon afterwards by his noisy desertion of the poetic theories of Mallarmé<sup>6</sup> so that critical reaction to the painter must be seen as an important stage in the evolution of literary Symbolism. The exhibition was, in a real sense, Symbolism's point of no return. Insofar as literary Symbolism had formed a recognisable movement, it was now breaking up. Henceforth, there could be no basis

of agreement between Gauguin's supporters and opponents among the symbolist poets. A further laudatory remark for Mauclair by Retté carried a sinister ring:

Je ne saurais dire à quel point je fus heureux de constater enfin chez lui les prodromes d'une réaction que nous sommes quelques-uns à désirer de tout notre coeur. (A. Retté, loc.cit.).

Retté, we remember, was present at the banquet held in Gauguin's honour in March 1891. Clearly, much had changed in the two years the painter had been away. His absence had allowed Puvis de Chavannes to dominate, unchallenged, symbolist poets and painters alike. The process was already well under way even as Aurier was writing his first article on Gauguin. Denis' 'Définition du néo-traditionnisme' is invariably presented in art histories of this period as the first manifesto of the 'school of Pont-Aven', yet it can hardly have escaped Gauguin's attention that the article is dominated more by Puvis de Chavannes than by himself. Gauguin is mentioned briefly on two occasions, Puvis on five and twice as a sort of modern Michaelangelo!<sup>7</sup> Only two years before, when students in the atelier Julien, Denis and his friends 'parlaient de Puvis avec une indifférence respectueuse, se méfiant, en conscience, qu'il ne sût pas dessiner'.<sup>8</sup> Sérusier's enthusiastic descriptions of Gauguin's pictorial synthetism enabled them to see the painting of Puvis in a new light. Denis' later remarks are quite clear in this respect, for while Gauguin's liberating influence is gratefully admitted, Puvis is nevertheless the dominant influence upon the Nabis from 1890 onwards. In the same

article of 1903, Denis had the painting of Puvis in mind when he wrote:

...nous complétions là l'enseignement rudimentaire de Gauguin, en substituant à son idée simpliste des couleurs pures, celle des belles harmonies, infiniment variées comme la nature...

(ibid., p.163).

That this process was under way before Gauguin's Tahiti exhibition is confirmed by a comparison between Denis' painting of 1889, 'La Montée au calvaire', which, with its flat colours and firmly-defined figures, immediately evokes Gauguin and that of 1892, 'Avril', whose softer colours and dream-like figures show the influence of Puvis de Chavannes.

We closed the previous chapter at the point at which a self-conscious symbolist movement was emerging from the negative pessimism of the decadents. Wyzéwa was referring to this period when he sought, in 1894, to explain the exceptional prominence of Puvis de Chavannes from 1886 onwards:

Une soif nous a pris de rêve, d'émotion, et de poésie. Saturés d'une lumière trop vive et trop crue, nous avons aspiré au brouillard. Et c'est alors que nous nous sommes passionnément attachés à l'art poétique et brumeux de M. de Chavannes...L'art de M. de Chavannes a ainsi été pour nous comme une guérison; nous nous sommes attachés à lui comme des malades à un traitement nouveau.

(T. de Wyzéwa: 'Une exposition d'oeuvres de Puvis de Chavannes (1894)' in: Peintres de jadis et d'aujourd'hui, Paris, Perrin, 1903, p.369).

The 'disease' from which Wyzéwa and his literary friends were suffering was not only literary Naturalism. The appeal of des Esseintes' frenetic but ultimately fruitless search for sensations ever more refined was losing its interest for them. Overtones of

article of 1903, Denis had the painting of Puvis in mind when he wrote:

...nous complétions là l'enseignement rudimentaire de Gauguin, en substituant à son idée simpliste des couleurs pures, celle des belles harmonies, infiniment variées comme la nature...

(ibid., p.163).

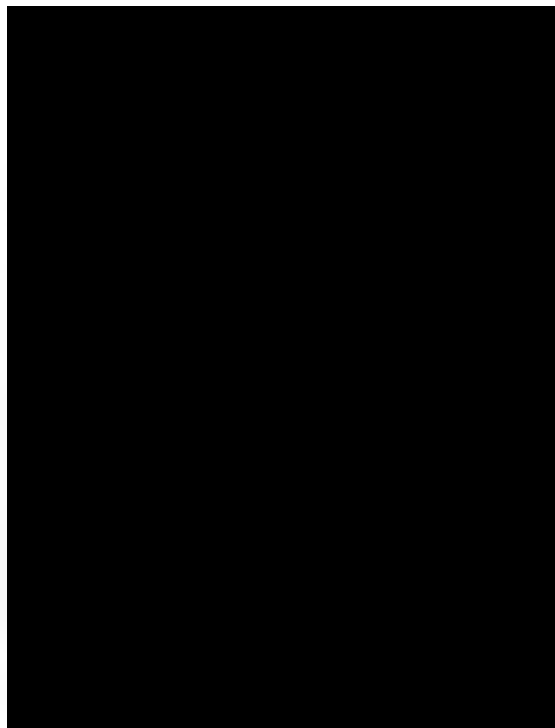
That this process was under way before Gauguin's Tahiti exhibition is confirmed by a comparison between Denis' painting of 1889, 'La Montée au calvaire', which, with its flat colours and firmly-defined figures, immediately evokes Gauguin and that of 1892, 'Avril', whose softer colours and dream-like figures show the influence of Puvis de Chavannes.

We closed the previous chapter at the point at which a self-conscious symbolist movement was emerging from the negative pessimism of the decadents. Wyzéwa was referring to this period when he sought, in 1894, to explain the exceptional prominence of Puvis de Chavannes from 1886 onwards:

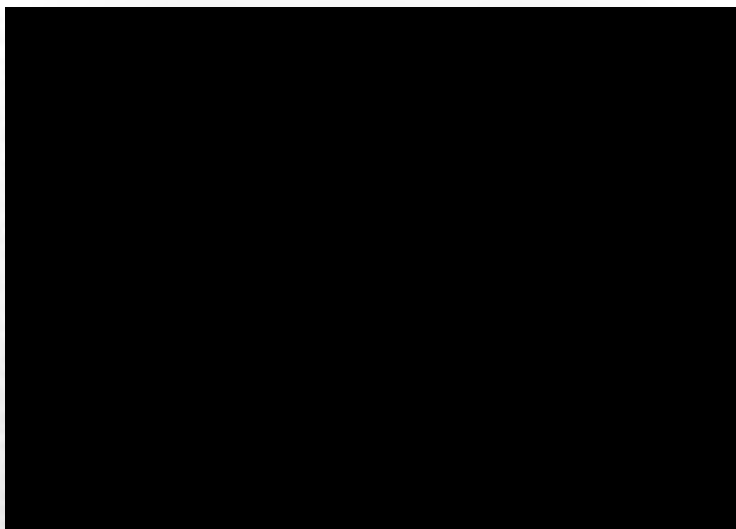
Une fois nous a pris de rêve, d'émotion, et de poésie. Saturés d'une lumière trop vive et trop crue, nous avons aspiré au brouillard. Et c'est alors que nous nous sommes passionnément attachés à l'art poétique et brumeux de M. de Chavannes...L'art de M. de Chavannes a ainsi été pour nous comme une guérison; nous nous sommes attachés à lui comme des malades à un traitement nouveau.

(T. de Wyzéwa: 'Une exposition d'oeuvres de Puvis de Chavannes (1894)' in: Peintres de jadis et d'aujourd'hui, Paris, Perrin, 1903, p.369).

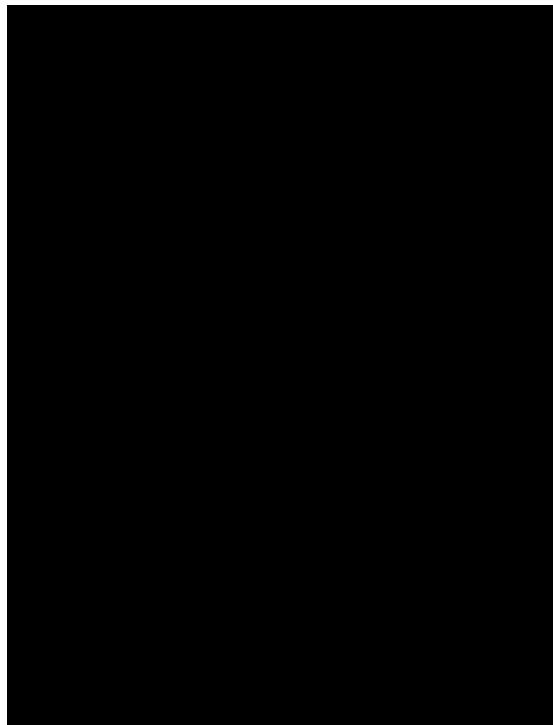
The 'disease' from which Wyzéwa and his literary friends were suffering was not only literary Naturalism. The appeal of des Esseintes' frenetic but ultimately fruitless search for sensations ever more refined was losing its interest for them. Overtones of



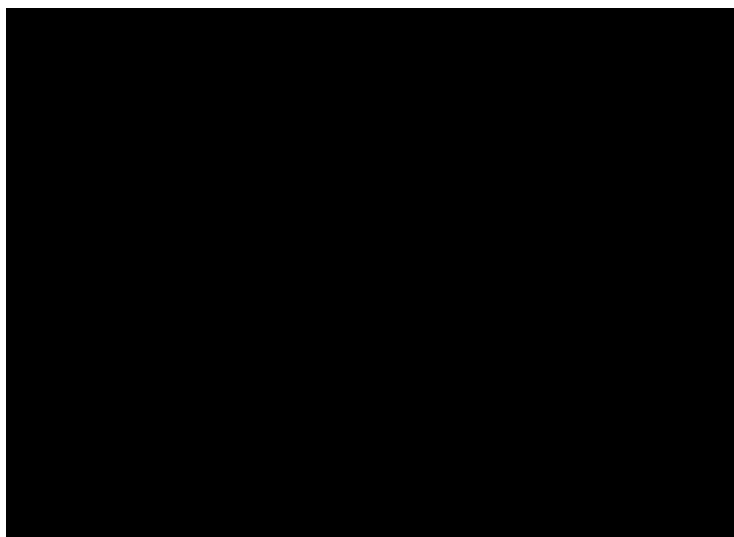
O. Redon: 'Vase de fleurs: le coquelicot rouge', 1895, 27 X 19 cm.,  
Musée du Jeu-de-Paume, Paris.



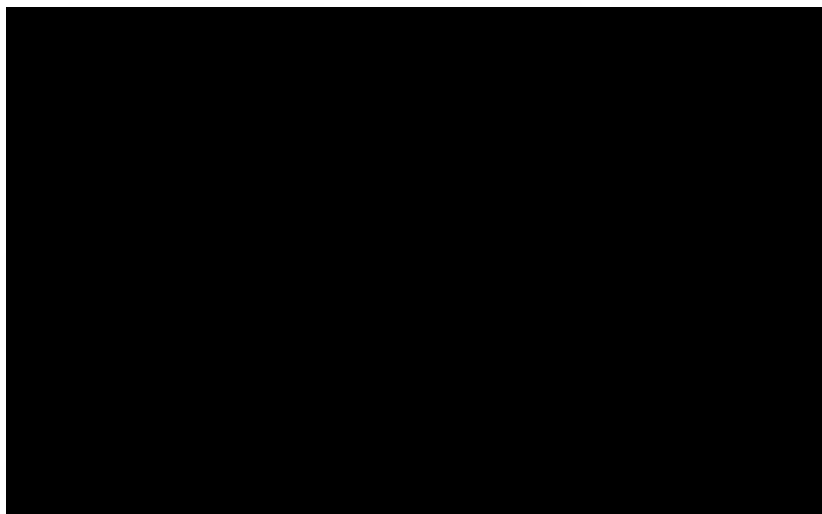
P. Gauguin: 'Arearea', 1892, 75 X 94, Musée du Jeu-de-Paume, Paris.



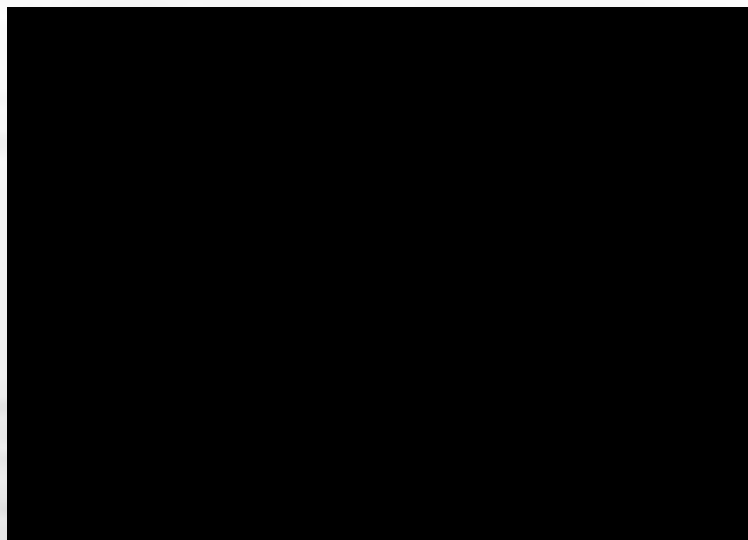
O. Redon: 'Vase de fleurs: le coquelicot rouge', 1895, 27 X 19 cm.,  
Musée du Jeu-de-Paume, Paris.



P. Gauguin: 'Arearea', 1892, 75 X 94, Musée du Jeu-de-Paume, Paris.

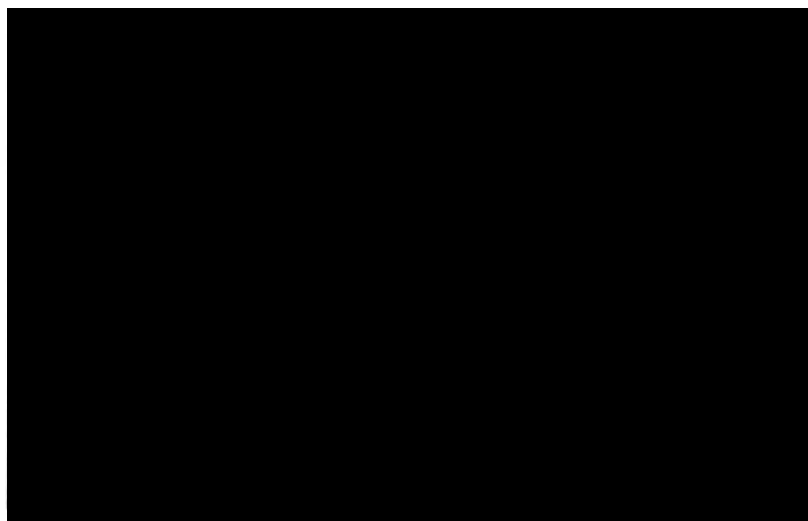


M. Denis: 'Avril', 1892, 38 X 61 cm., Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo, Netherlands.

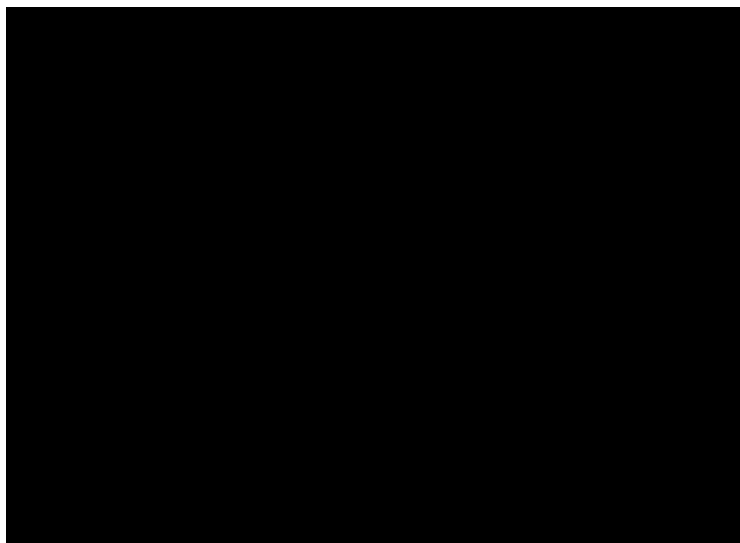


P. Gauguin: 'Ta Matete', 1892, 73 X 92 cm., Kunstmuseum, Basle.





M. Denis: 'Avril', 1892, 38 X 61 cm., Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo, Netherlands.



P. Gauguin: 'Ta Matete', 1892, 73 X 92 cm., Kunstmuseum, Basle.

order and moral regeneration accompany the desire for mystery and synthesis which certain poets brought to Puvis' art. The following lines indicate very well the way in which this art responded to repressed desires for political and social order:

Les cioux sulfureux et verdâtres et sanglants mêlés de fumées et de nuées, au seuil du siècle, par le furieux héroïsme de Delacroix, s'apaisent en Puvis de Chavannes et meurent, en une langueur d'or pâle et de roses et de violettes, sur les figures idylliques et virgiliennes enviées d'une époque sans paix intérieure.

(C. Mauclair: L'Art en silence, pp.279-80).

Images of stability and repose, of order and peace, dominate Puvis criticism from 1890. For this reason, the painting of the 'déformateurs' (as Gauguin and, to a lesser extent, the Nabis, were known at this time<sup>9</sup>) was correspondingly felt to threaten these qualities. Furthermore, to do so was to endanger that development of the Renaissance tradition which Puvis increasingly appeared to embody. This is what Gauguin meant when he remarked that there was a world between his art and that of Puvis.<sup>10</sup> The critics of the 1890's soon made it clear which of the two they preferred:

Rien ne justifie l'exclusion de la perspective et la suppression des reliefs... Un oeil occidental vraiment sain sentira toujours la nécessité des dégradations... Pour obéir à l'anatomie, la forme en est-elle moins animiquement expressive chez les vrais Maîtres? Quelle tête dégage plus de mystère que celle de la Joconde?

(A. Germain: 'Théorie des déformateurs...', p.290).

Mallarmé's 'innocent' vision, Laforgue's 'prehistoric' eye return in one's mind to lay bare the conservative and racist premisses behind the 'healthy, western' vision of Alphonse Germain. In fin-

de-siècle Paris, Mona Lisa's mysterious smile was a source of aesthetic sensations which Gauguin's Breton peasants could not hope to rival so what chance had his Tahiti women? The Mona Lisa was, for this public, the final word in female perversity, the most 'modern' of all myths of beauty, a synthesis of Moreau's fatal woman and Puvis' virginal St. Geneviève.<sup>11</sup> No wonder that symbolist critics such as Germain considered the art of Pont-Aven to be 'un art décoratif inférieur puisque sans rapports avec notre race et notre modernité'(loc.cit.). Where the female figures of Puvis were modern, those of Gauguin were primitive, in the derogatory sense of retrograde. Where the art of Puvis was quintessentially French, that of Gauguin belonged to another race. The temporal and racial divorce reached its climax in the Tahiti paintings. To the Parisian public, their new subject-matter, their technical innovations seemed the work of a foreign agitator. Even poets who admired the man were lost by the artist. Merrill even compared him to a Red Indian.<sup>12</sup> The painter's exclusion was far-reaching:

...il n'était pas de terme commun entre son art et celui de nos peintres, même les plus révolutionnaires. Paul Gauguin reste, dans le sens le pire et le meilleur du terme, un monstre. Même van Gogh, ce fou de génie, peut se classer dans des catégories connues: il a des ancêtres et aura sans doute une postérité. Il est, en d'autres mots, de notre race. Gauguin, parmi nous, était véritablement solitaire.

(ibid.,p.107).

In addition, certain political factors need to be taken into consideration. Gauguin's Tahiti exhibition coincided with the bloodiest phase of anarchist activity during the Third Republic. During the twelve months which preceded

Retté's attacks upon the results of rampant individualism in the arts, Vaillant's bomb exploded in the Chambre des Députés (9 December 1893), Emile Henry's in the café Terminus of the Gare Saint-Lazare (12 February 1894) and President Carnot was assassinated in Lyon (24 June). During this period, anarchist activity was such that a panicked House voted the repressive 'lois scélérates'. Writing later, Denis unconsciously underlined the political premisses of Gauguin's rejection by the majority of the literary and pictorial avant-garde in 1893:

Sans l'anarchisme destructeur et négateur de Gauguin et de van Gogh, l'exemple de Cézanne, avec tout ce qu'il comporte de tradition, de mesure et d'ordre, n'aurait pas été compris.

(M. Denis: 'De Gauguin et de van Gogh...', p.191).

It was all very well Mauclair expressing his enthusiasm (from a safe distance in time, naturally) for the anarchists, Ravachol and Vaillant.<sup>13</sup> Mauclair's 'anarchism', like Retté's, was a pose, a literary fashion. Gauguin's painting confronted them with the real thing and their mask dropped. It is no coincidence that the one young poet to join Gauguin after the Tahiti exhibition was literature's arch-anarchist himself, Alfred Jarry. In 1893, Gauguin was no misunderstood genius. On the contrary, he was understood only too well.

Gauguin's defenders in 1893 among the poets are quickly counted. There was still Morice, as loyal as ever, despite Gauguin's suspicions.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately for Gauguin, Morice was by then a mere shadow of the brilliant young aesthete who, four years before, had given literary Symbolism its orientation in La Littérature de tout à l'heure. His unswerving

defence of the painter finished what remained of his credit among the literary avant-garde. Octave Mirbeau did his generous best, as usual, but in terms too obviously taken from the horse's mouth.<sup>15</sup> The case of Mallarmé is more problematic. His famous comment upon the Tahiti paintings, though considered by Gauguin to be a perfect summary of his intentions (cf. *supra*, p. 97), seems to have had no effect in literary circles. Certainly, the poet undertook no committed defence of the painter. In the light of what I said above (cf. p. 217) about the exclusive quality of Mallarmé's love of Manet's art, this is perhaps not surprising. Only one critic, Achille Delaroche, pursued the critical trend which Mallarmé's comment raised.<sup>16</sup>

The catalogue which Morice wrote for the Gauguin exhibition of November 1893 was the beginning of their collaboration upon Noa-noa, in which the painter's account of the stay in the South Seas was to be accompanied by the poet's variations upon Tahitian themes.<sup>17</sup> After seeing the exhibition, Jarry wrote three poems 'd'après et pour Paul Gauguin', one of which, together with a prose poem of the same inspiration, was included in Les minutes de sable mémorial, published the following year.<sup>18</sup> The reasons which persuaded Morice and Gauguin to collaborate upon Noa-noa are complex and involve short-term financial, as well as long-term philosophical, considerations. Both needed an important publication with which to arrest the decline in their respective reputations. In addition, Gauguin, typically, saw the volume in terms of a clash of civilizations - noble savage versus deca-

dent civilized - from which primitive culture (and, therefore, indirectly, his own art) would emerge victorious. Morice, less belligerent, saw it as an opportunity to enrich that aesthetic trend, so popular among the symbolist poets, of poetry inspired by painting. Jarry's verse in Les Minutes... was a logical consequence of an intensely visual approach to poetic imagery. Association with the two poets only aggravated Gauguin's problems for both Morice and Jarry met with considerable difficulty in finding editors willing to publish their work. The poetry in Noa-noa was greeted with almost as much hostility as that which the original paintings had aroused. Les Minutes... was passed over in silence, which was even worse. In the case of Morice, it must be admitted that his attempts to reproduce in language the primitive mystery of Gauguin's paintings resulted in some very bad poetry.<sup>19</sup> Since, in addition, Jarry's verse was incomprehensible, the two poets between them accentuated rather than diminished Gauguin's isolation among the Parisian literary avant-garde. As for the clash of civilisations which Gauguin intended Noa-noa to represent, the inequality of the contestants forces one to declare it a no-contest. At first sight, Jarry looked to be an even less likely opponent than Morice, but, as it turned out, he proved to be more than a match for Gauguin.

Gauguin's narrative in Noa-noa provides a commentary upon (and, in some cases, the genesis of) the Tahiti paintings. Morice's 1901 text is an extension of Gauguin's own and may be safely used as such. The poet lengthened the pain-

ter's narrative and, at times, weakened its emotional impact through his verbosity but he invented nothing. Morice was a listener, not a creator; a gifted vulgarizer, he was more at ease with the ideas of others than with the problems of verse technique. In his first section, entitled 'Point de vue', Morice described the purpose of the Tahiti journey as the search for 'une race, dite par un esprit, le mieux fait, ou l'unique, pour la comprendre et l'aimer, par les procédés artistiques les plus voisins de ce luxe extraordinaire en sa simplicité, luxe animal et végétal où le prodige de l'éclat n'égale que le prodige de l'ombre installée au fond de cet éclat même' (ibid. p. 6) - the same definition of pictorial Symbolism as the emotional equivalence of art-form and mystical experience as that which he had applied to the work of Carrière, before discovering that of Gauguin (cf. supra, p. 280). For Gauguin, Symbolism was inseparable from self-discovery since the meaning of his own life lay hidden within the mysterious origins of the Tahiti race which his painting was to reveal. This chapter will be concerned with one stage of this process, one which both Morice and Jarry, for different reasons, singled out as the point of departure for poetry, the painting 'L'Homme à la hache'.<sup>20</sup>

Upon his arrival in Papeete, Gauguin was appalled at the extent to which it had been 'civilized' by the French colonial administration:

Arriverai-je à retrouver une trace de ce passé si loin, si mystérieux; et le présent ne me disait rien qui vaille. Retrouver l'ancien foyer, raviver le feu au milieu de

toutes ces cendres.

(P. Gauguin: Noa-noa, pp.19-20).

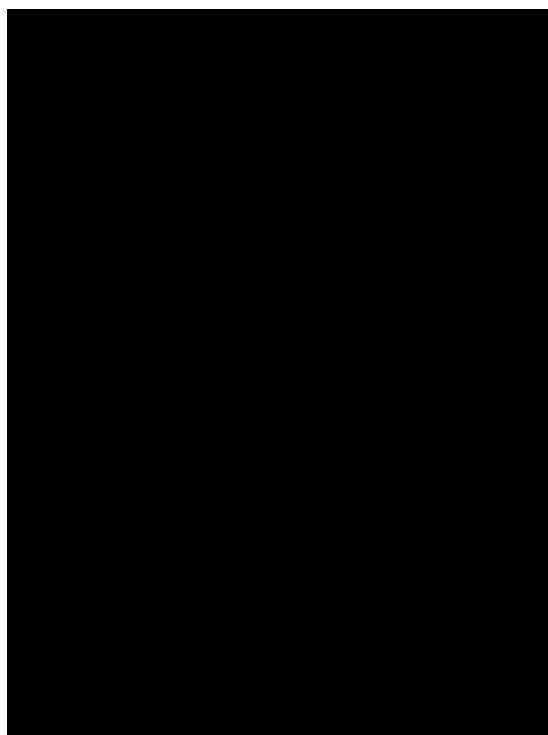
One by one, the trappings of European civilization are left behind. The painter abandons Papeete and the woman whom he found there, Titi, whose European manners and dress soon provoke in the painter aesthetic distaste: 'déjà civilisée, habituée au luxe du fonctionnaire, elle ne me convint longtemps' (ibid., p.25). Initiation into what Morice called 'la bonne Sauvagerie'<sup>21</sup> did not, however, come easy to Gauguin. As an ageing and physically-degenerate European, he found himself unable to perform the simplest tasks of fishing, hunting and climbing which were second nature to the Maori. Penetration of their mythology proved less arduous, thanks to the copy of a book on Maori life and culture which Gauguin read during his stay in Tahiti.<sup>22</sup> This mythology took on a living reality for the painter the more he integrated himself within the Maori community. One important step is described in the following lines:

L'homme presque nu levait de ses deux bras une pesante hache laissant en haut son empreinte bleue sur le ciel argenté, en bas son incision sur l'arbre mort qui tout à l'heure revivrait un instant de flammes - chaleurs séculaires accumulées chaque jour. Sur le sol pourpre de longues feuilles serpentine d'un jaune de métal, tout un vocabulaire oriental - lettres (il me semblait) d'une langue inconnue mystérieuse. Il me semblait voir ce mot originaire d'Océanie: Atua. Dieu.

(P. Gauguin: Noa-noa, pp.21-2).

The incident described in these lines became a source for the painting, 'L'Homme à la hache'. Gauguin's determination to 'retrouver l'ancien foyer, raviver le feu au milieu de toutes ces cendres', echoing as it does the terms used to describe the felled tree, provides an unconscious clue to the meaning of the painting.





P. Gauguin: 'L'Homme à la hache', 1891, 92 X 70 cm., A.M. Lewyt Collection, New York, U.S.A.



P. Gauguin: 'L'Homme à la hache', 1891, 92 X 70 cm., A.M. Lewyt Collection, New York, U.S.A.

The original scene is passed through the filter of Gauguin's visual memory. The flowing lines of the flowers in the foreground are inspired by Japanese prints, the male figure by a frieze in the Parthenon.<sup>23</sup> In his book on the painter, Morice published a Gauguin drawing of the man with the axe which illustrates well the transformations which Gauguin imposed upon an everyday scene. The strong vertical lines of the male figure in the foreground of the painting are balanced by the series of horizontals formed by the shore, the female figure and the boat which occupy the middle two-thirds of the picture. The effect created is one of calm and strength, the qualities with which Gauguin idealized the local inhabitants. Though this effect seems at first to belie complex meanings, they are nevertheless present. Through the abstraction of the pictorial style, an everyday scene assumes the status of primitive fable, from a visual impression is derived a mythological ideal. The painter suggests as much in his description of the flowers in terms of a strange, Oriental hieroglyph. In fact, the enigmatic emblem is as much western as eastern, as much Christian as Buddhist. Their shape is their function, as Gauguin admits by describing them as 'serpentes'. They appear to be scurrying away from the point in the tree in which the man is about to sink his axe. That this was Gauguin's intention is evident from the lines which Morice wrote on the paintings:

Eblouis du plein jour la foule ténébreuse  
Des démons accroupis dans la carcasse creuse!  
Ils jeteront sur toi des cris horribles: ris,  
Car un Dieu est dans ta main droite, de leurs cris!  
(Ch. Morice: Noa-Noa, p.101).

As poetry, we need not take these lines very seriously, even if it is hard not to wince at lines three and four, in which an effort to imitate Mallarmé's disrupted syntax goes badly wrong. No, this poetry is pure illustration, of the same kind as a concert programme, and in no way symbolist. Morice is right to describe the flowing lines as 'démons' for snakes had figured in Gauguin's painting before the Tahiti period and always in their traditional role as angels of darkness. As Morice says, the painting, 'L'Homme à la hache' shows their defeat, according to a Maori legend which held that the evil spirits living in trees were conquered when the tree was felled. The fact that they were thought to be blinded by the sun made easy the assimilation of this legend within the Christian tradition of the triumph of Light over Darkness, of Good over Evil. The presence of this theme in the painting is made clearer by a remarkable passage in Gauguin's text, in which he describes an excursion into the mountain in the company of a young friend, Jotefa, in search of rosewood for carving. As he walked behind his guide, Gauguin was struck by the boy's animal presence: 'son corps souple d'animal avait de gracieuses formes, il marchait devant moi sans sexe'.<sup>24</sup> At this point, the painter interrupts his narrative and makes the following notes, no doubt intending to return to the passage at a later date:

1. Le côté androgyne du sauvage, le peu de différence de sexe chez les animaux.

2. La pureté qu'entraîne la vue du nu et les mœurs faciles entre les deux sexes.

L'inconnu du vice chez les sauvages.

Désir d'être un instant faible, femme.

(ibid., p. 116).

Gauguin's boy should not be seen merely as an oriental model of a very Parisian fin-de-siècle craze.<sup>25</sup> For the painter, the boy seemed to abolish the oppositions which western civilisation imposed upon the sexes, upon the man imprisoned within a tyrannical model of virility, and the woman within the whalebone corset, only one of the items with which she was carefully maintained 'dans un état de faiblesse nerveuse et d'infériorité musculaire'.<sup>26</sup> Here was a revelation of undifferentiated sexuality, itself a glimpse of the edenic innocence of Adam and Eve. The temptation of European vice, in the form of homosexual desire, is not, however, so easily overcome:

De cette amitié si bien cimentée par attraction mutuelle du simple au composé, l'amour en moi prenait éclosion.

Et nous étions seulement tous deux.

J'eus comme un pressentiment de crime, le désir d'inconnu, le réveil du mal. Puis la lassitude du rôle du mâle qui doit toujours être fort, protecteur; de lourdes épaules à supporter. Être une minute l'être faible qui aime et obéit.

Je m'approchai, sans peur des lois, le trouble aux tempes.

(P. Gauguin: Noa-noa, p.28).

At this point, the boy turns round and faces Gauguin. 'L'androgyné avait disparu: ce fut bien un jeune homme; ses yeux innocents présentaient l'aspect de la limpidité des eaux. Le calme rentra soudain dans mon âme...' (ibid.). With this victory over his desire, the painter felt that he had vanquished an entire civilisation. In a rather melodramatic gesture to his achievement, he dived into a mountain stream, as if to give physical expression to this new purification. It is just after this episode that the two arrive at the trees which will provide the artist with the rosewood:

Tous deux, sauvages, nous attaquâmes à la hache un magnifique arbre qu'il fallut détruire pour avoir une branche convenable à mes désirs. Je frappai avec rage et les mains ensanglantées je coupais avec le plaisir d'une brutalité assouvie, d'une destruction de je ne sais quoi.

Avec la cadence du bruit de la hache, je chantais:

Coupe par le pied la forêt tout entière (des désirs)  
Coupe en toi l'amour de toi-même comme avec la main  
en automne on couperait le Lotus.

Bien détruit en effet tout mon vieux stock de civilisé. Je revins tranquille, me sentant désormais un autre homme, un Maorie.

(ibid., p.29).

There is something rather pathetic in the urgency with which Gauguin seeks integration within the Maori civilisation. One senses that he had to achieve it, if only so as not to have to admit to himself and to his few remaining admirers back in Paris that the whole Tahitian venture was a failure, just another stunt which did not come off. Be that as it may, as the two return to the village, the artist again admires the boy's gracious, animal-like form but, this time, with peace of mind: '...et cela tranquille - formes robustes comme l'arbre que nous portions'(ibid.). The triple lesson which the episode provided was resumed in 'L'Homme à la hache', where the themes of undifferentiated sexuality, of the identification of human and natural forms and of the triumph over evil informs both the figurative elements employed and their structure. The male figure has on his chest faint, but quite deliberate shaded circles by which to suggest female breasts, while his facial features are noticeably softened to resemble those of a young woman. The violence of Gauguin's attack upon the tree has

been replaced in the painting by its spiritual consequence, the serenity of the return home, in the composure of the 'jeune justicier', as Morice called the male figure,<sup>27</sup> in whom Gauguin portrayed his spiritually-rejuvenated self. As W. Andersen rightly points out, though without referring to the painting under discussion here, this ideal of a synthesis of male and female qualities was present in Gauguin's work of the Brittany period.<sup>28</sup> Its most complete representative was, of course, Christ, who, though the Son of God, allowed himself to be betrayed and executed by man. In 'Le Christ au Jardin des Oliviers', of 1889, Christ/Gauguin is portrayed in a 'feminine' attitude of tearful submission. Gauguin's salvation, like that of Christ, was obtained only by the destruction of his past life, 'bien détruit en effet...'. The savage achieved the same ends without effort, through the natural androgynism which uncivilized man and woman shared with one another and through the elemental strength and grace which they both shared with nature. Morice, here as everywhere else, makes the meaning explicit when, of the boy, he writes:

Je croyais voir en lui s'incarner, palpiter, vivre toute cette splendeur végétale dont nous étions investis. D'elle, en lui, par lui, se dégageait, émanait un puissant parfum de beauté.

(Ch. Morice: *Noa-noa*, pp.85-6).

The boy was 'la Forêt elle-même, la Forêt vivante, sans sexe'(ibid.). As we have seen, Gauguin compares the boy to a tree and, certainly, the male figure in the painting has the same statuary solidity. Similarly, the female figure has the indolent grace of an animal. As she bends forward, her arms resemble an animal's front legs,

while the branches of the tree, as they fall behind her, create the deliberate effect of an animal's tail. Even more obviously, the branches at the top of the painting are a formal reprise of the woman's breasts. In this depiction of man and woman undifferentiated sexually from one another and functionally from their environment, Gauguin is describing the paradise which Adam shared with Eve before the Fall and to which he himself is gaining access. Jarry, in Les Minutes... and in Gestes et opinions du docteur Faustroll, pataphysicien, portrayed the painter himself as the Adam of this Tahitian Eden, but then Jarry was better placed than many subsequent art historians to understand the strong auto-biographical element of 'L'Homme à la hache'. Morice accumulates page after page of mediocre verse to reach the same conclusion:

Périsset la Mort et vive la vie!  
Je frappe et je suis sourde. Pleure, crie,  
L'oeuvre est faite! L'aube a vaincu la nuit  
Et l'arbre de la Science est détruit.

(Ch. Morice: Noa-noa, p.110).

'Science' in this case does not mean science. The painting is not intended to be just another critique of French nineteenth-century scientism. The tree is the tree of Knowledge, the same as that in 'La Vision après le sermon', the tree which caused all the trouble in the first place by tempting Eve.

Documentary proof of Jarry's personal acquaintance with the painter is contained in a letter to Alfred Vallette, in which he wrote:

...je suis parti en touriste pour la Bretagne, avec Pont-Aven pour centre. J'y suis (hôtel Gloanec) avec Gauguin,



retenu par son accident.

(A. Jarry in: Oeuvres complètes, p.1039).

Though the letter is dated simply 1894, in it, Jarry refers to the death of an uncle, on 21 June 1894. Also, he closed an earlier letter to the same correspondent by saying: 'Je rentrerai vers la fin du mois ou les lrs jours de juillet' *ibid.*, p.1038). The painter had broken his leg during a brawl with a group of sailors and was no doubt glad of Jarry's company. The association of Gauguin and Jarry is not as strange as it may seem, for they had much in common: a love of Brittany's desolate landscapes, strewn with calvaries, an interest in primitive mythologies with their preoccupation with sexuality and death.<sup>29</sup> Gauguin was almost certainly passing the time of his enforced rest by working upon his manuscript of Noa-noa and Jarry must have seen it at this point, if not before. There is, however, reason to suggest that this was not the first meeting of the two artists. In a letter from Tahiti, dated 25 March 1892, Gauguin informed Paul Sérusier that 'il y aura chez Daniel une étude de moi que j'ai faite en arrivant'.<sup>30</sup> Sérusier and Jarry had a mutual friend in the painter, Charles Filiger, who, like Sérusier, had been a pupil of Gauguin at Pont-Aven.<sup>31</sup> It would have been strange had the two painters not tried to see Gauguin's Tahiti paintings as they arrived in Paris. It therefore seems safe to suggest that Jarry saw them too, especially since the prose poem, 'L'Incube', though first published in L'Echo de Paris mensuel illustré of 18 June 1893 (i.e. before Gauguin's return to France) is unmistakeably inspired by Gauguin's

painting, 'Manao tupapau'.<sup>32</sup> As we shall see, it also seems likely that Jarry attended at least some of the Noa-noa reading-sessions with Morice and Gauguin in the painter's studio in the rue Vercingétorix. Furthermore, both Jarry and Gauguin had published art criticism in the review, Essais d'art libre, during the first half of 1894. In his review of the sixth exhibition of the Independents at Barc de Bouteville's, Jarry had written of Gauguin's painting, 'Nave nave moe'

J'aime, plus que bien des tableaux de son entière tahitienne exposition de chez Durand-Ruel, ces deux femmes abstruses accroupies; et derrière, l'indifférence des Idoles camuses, rideau des danses entrevues. Et à l'horizon, il y a des arbres sédimentaires beaux comme un Willumsen.

(A. Jarry: 'Minutes d'art', Essais d'art libre, Tome V, Février 1894, p. 41).

These remarks, even if nuanced, were nevertheless much more friendly in tone than the majority of the reviews of Gauguin's 1893 exhibition and may be added to the other reasons given for suggesting that by June 1894, the two artists were probably quite well acquainted. The three paintings which had most impressed Jarry in the Gauguin exhibition at Durand-Ruel's gallery were 'Ia Orana Maria', 'L'Homme à la hache' and 'Manao tupapau'. The second takes on particular importance by the fact that while the poems inspired by the first and third paintings were subsequently eliminated from Les Minutes..., that inspired by the second was retained.<sup>33</sup> Jarry was preparing the volume for publication during the period of his discovery of Gauguin's Tahiti work. The introduction, 'L'Inteau', is dated 11 August 1894, that is, only six weeks after his stay

with Gauguin in Brittany.

It would be misleading to describe the 'themes' of Les Minutes... as those of sexuality and death, even if they do seem to play a considerable part in the text, for the main problem in the book is the nature of poetic language itself.<sup>34</sup> Jarry takes to extreme lengths Mallarmé's definition of 'le double état de la parole' (cf. *supra*, p.233) and Gauguin's theory of the mystical image:

Suggérer au lieu de dire, faire dans la route des phrases un carrefour de tous les mots.

(A. Jarry: Les Minutes..., p.iii).

For Jarry, the word is a polyhedral unit, a junction, perpendicular as well as linear, in which meanings converge to produce new meanings, each equally valid. On Jarry's 'road', there are no priorities to the right or left, no single meaning which takes precedence over others. He insists upon this by placing in italics the remark that 'le rapport de la phrase verbale à tout sens qu'on y puisse trouver est constant' (ibid., p.v). A poetic text's meanings are thus inexhaustible. Each new reader adds to the list. In this situation, the charges levelled against symbolist poetry by its first and hostile public (obscurity, verbal mystification etc.) are automatically dismissed as false problems. The poet's role is not to provide easy meanings but to choose words which leave the greatest possible freedom to the reader to enlarge upon the multiple texts contained within each poem:

...au moment de l'écriture on a tâché de son mieux non de dire TOUT, ce qui serait absurde, mais le plus du nécessaire (que jamais d'ailleurs le lecteur ne percevra

total)...

[Jarry's capitals].

(ibid., p. viii).

The poet himself cannot define all the meanings which a poem contains, for poetic language may not be limited in this way.<sup>35</sup> The poet can only point to this illimitability by turning 'themes' over and over upon themselves so as to become symbols of poetic language itself. The multiplicity of meaning is first established within each verbal group, is increased as each group takes its place in the poem, from where it is extended ad infinitum by the insertion of each poem within the wider context of the volume, itself merely one element in the poet's total literary production. The procedure resembles Kahn's technique in Les Palais nomades, in which, as we have seen, the poet applied Seurat's divisionist technique to verbal structure, but where, in Kahn, each poem illustrates one facet of a theme and combines with others to reconstruct a total human experience, in Jarry, no such unifying principle is employed, no such boundaries are imposed. Poetic language is released in all directions at once. This will become clearer from an analysis of the poem, 'L'Homme à la hache':

L'Homme à la hache

D'après et pour Paul Gauguin.

A l'horizon, par les brouillards,  
Les tintamarres des hasards,  
Vagues, nous armons nos démons  
Dans l'entre-deux sournois des monts.

Au rivage que nous fermons  
Dome un géant sur les limons.  
Nous rampons à ses pieds, lézards.  
Lui, sur son char tel un César

Ou sur un piédestal de marbre,  
 Taille une barque en un tronc d'arbre  
 Pour debout dessus nous poursuivre

Jusqu'à la fin verte des lieues.  
 Du rivage ses bras de cuivre  
 Lèvent au ciel la hache bleue.

(A. Jarry, Les Minutes..., pp.97-8).

If I suggested above that Jarry may also have been present at some of the poetry readings in the rue Vercingétorix during which Gauguin and Morice read extracts of the prose and poetry of Noa-noa, it is because, at this point of the book, Morice also wrote a poem recounting the lament of the evil spirits who lived in the tree. Morice imagines them cursing the man with the axe who dared to invade the realm of darkness over which they rule:

C'est ici notre empire et la Nuit.  
 Arrière! Nous sommes ce qu'on fuit,  
 Les vers nourris de sang corrompu,  
 Gorgés toujours et jamais repus,  
 Les désirs rampants au fond des coeurs,  
 Tout ce qu'on cache et tout ce qu'on fuit  
 Les larves obscènes de la Nuit...

(Ch. Morice: Noa-noa, p.104).

Once again, this verse of a major theoretician of Symbolism could hardly be called 'symbolist' at all. The one departure from descriptive verse, the identification of 'les vers nourris...' and 'les désirs rampants...' forms, between the concrete and the abstract, a relationship so logical, so obviously constructed, that no new reality is suggested. The same visual image which Morice explicits at some length serves a quite different purpose for Jarry. Where Morice remains subservient to the Oriental legend implicit in Gauguin's painting, Jarry only appears to do so. It is true that Jarry employs several elements of the pictorial source.

The 'action' of the first verse is set 'dans l'entre-deux sournois des monts' (line 4), a common image for the trough of the sea and a reference, in Gauguin's painting, to the stretch of water - between the breakers and the shore - where a small boat is passing. The second verse contains the reference to the male figure with the axe (line 6) and to the serpentine lines at his feet (line 7). The third describes the central activity of chopping wood (line 10) while the closing lines of the poem, in a semantic simplicity which contrasts sharply with the difficulties posed by the opening lines, reproduce the description of the raised axe seen in the painting. Jarry even appears to carry visual fidelity into his use of metaphor when he writes that the occupant of the island is 'sur un char tel un César' (line 8). He was probably aware of the photograph of the cavalier in the Parthenon frieze which provided Gauguin with one of his visual sources. Furthermore, the line (like the whole poem) cannot be separated from chapter 17 of Gestes et opinions..., in which Faustroll and his faithful monkey, Bosse-de-Nage, visit the 'fragrant isle' (Tahiti) and its king (Gauguin), who is described as 'drapé en outre de ciel et de verdure comme la course en char d'un César'.<sup>36</sup> Sure enough, it is a short step for the imagination to interpret in this way the green of the land and the blue of the sea, which, in the painting, through their flat, decorative effect and the situation just above the male figure's shoulders, do seem to fly behind him like a gladiatorial mantle. Such visual fidelity, however, is only apparent. The superficial reading which it would imply disintegrates when we examine the poem

in detail.

The problems soon pile up. The main verb, 'armons' (line 3), maintains a relationship of sorts to Gauguin's painting by suggesting a struggle between the first-person plural subject and the occupant of the island. Lines 7, 'Nous rampons à ses pieds...', and 11, 'Pour debout dessus nous pour-suivre', superficially support this interpretation. Jarry, however, immediately introduces a second text by placing between lines 1 and 3 the mysterious reference to the '...tintamarres des hasards'. The opening line situates the poem in a way reminiscent of Romantic poetry - the description of the visually-indeterminate zone at the meeting-point of sea and sky which is compounded by the spray of the sea suggests Turner rather than Gauguin - only for the second line to undermine it. 'Tintamarres' seems quite out of place in a maritime context; 'hasards', frequently associated with the perils of the sea, seems unrelated to any other element in the poem. But if the phrase, 'Les tintamarres des hasards', defies a precise semantic role, at least it is possible to give it a syntactical one, as an adverbial phrase in apposition to those of line 1. The word 'vagues', however, refuses both roles, not because, syntactically and semantically, it is meaningless, but, on the contrary, because it multiplies meanings. It may be a noun or an adjective. If a noun, it may be appositional (inseparable from 'nous') or vocative (addressed by 'nous'); if an adjective, it may refer forward to 'nous' (in which case, it may be masculine or feminine), or backward to 'hasards' and/or 'tintamarres' and/or 'brouillards'.

In addition, line 3 suggests, through its construction, a semantic relationship with its counterpart in the second verse, 'Nous rampons à ses pieds...' (line 4), though it is not at all clear what this relationship might be.

At this point, another factor must be taken into consideration. So far, we have discussed this poem in isolation, but this is not what the author intended, for it was first published as part of the collection, Les Minutes... In this way, Jarry consciously alters the reader's approach to the poem by including within it elements which have already been encountered in others. In the first pages of the book, we find 'L'Incube', in which the word 'vague' is used as an adjective and noun in the same sentence, though without the compound ambiguity which characterizes its use in 'L'Homme à la hache'.<sup>37</sup> In a section entitled 'Tapisseries', a 'princesse mandragore' laments:

Les limaces, cendre d'un être  
Pétri de boue et de limons,  
Ont levé leurs fronts de démons...

La Princesse reste debout  
Comme un arbre où la sève bout...

(ibid., p.80).

while in the 'Repaire des géants', from the same section, we find six giants 'sur des piédestaux de marbres' (ibid., p.81). The triangular forest of Halderablou is filled with tree-trunks, but also with 'le cuivre roux des feuilles mortes' (ibid., p.108). The whole volume is filled with the crawling relations of the 'lézards' referred to in 'L'Homme à la hache'. The diversity of contexts in which all of these images reappear, the lack of obvious relation-



ships between them, makes the search for meanings a dangerous one. In addition, such contexts are not exhausted within the limits of Les Minutes... Jarry makes this quite explicit by including in the volume a section entitled 'Guignol' (ibid., pp. 21-54) featuring M. Ubu, carrying his conscience in a suitcase and accompanied by his faithful Palotins, and another entitled 'Les Prolégomènes de César-Antechrist' (ibid., pp. 165-71), consisting of two chapters, 'Prose (Saint-Pierre parle)' and 'Ubu parle'. In the original edition of Les Minutes..., this section was immediately followed by the 'Acte prologal' of César-Antechrist. Thus, all of the texts included in Les Minutes... are transformed by César-Antechrist and the Ubu cycle, not forgetting Gestes et opinions..., whose importance for an interpretation of 'L'Homme à la hache' has already been mentioned. With this in mind, a quite different approach to the poem is necessary.

In order to situate parallel texts of the poem, we must turn to an article in which Jarry developed a rather unusual theory of theatrical décor:

Nous avons essayé des décors héraldiques, c'est-à-dire désignant d'une teinte unie et uniforme toute une scène ou une acte, les personnages passant harmoniques sur ce champ de blason. Jarry's italics.

(A. Jarry: 'De l'inutilité du théâtre au théâtre', Mer- cure de France, Tome 19, n° 81, Septembre 1896, p. 469).

The first verse of 'L'Homme à la hache' is therefore to be understood in terms of heraldic décor by which the poem's context is doubled. No longer simply part of Les Minutes..., it must now be inserted within the action of César-Antechrist. In this second

context, 'armons'(line 3) means to provide, not with arms, but with a coat of arms.<sup>38</sup> 'A l'horizon'(line 1) is no longer a straightforward reference to an observer's circular limit of view but also an oblique one to the heraldic representation of azur. This in turn transforms 'tintamarres' into 'teinte à marre', hence 'teinte à mer (since 'mar' is the Provençal and Spanish, 'mare' the latin, source of 'mer'), a confirmation of the heraldic azur of the first line.<sup>39</sup>

So much for the décor. As for the events for which it provides the heraldic field, they are those of the 'acte héraldique' of César-Antechrist and of the texts associated with it. The 'acte prologal' opens with Saint Pierre-Humanité chained to stocks whose triangular construction is formed by three reversed Christs of bronze, silver and gold - a pataphysical inversion of Peter's triple denial of Christ and his subsequent execution upside-down on the cross. Around him, golden birds are already perched upon the golden cross which will soon be transformed into César-Antechrist. The act is no sooner under way than the cross begins to sprout hairs. César-Antechrist's arrival is announced by the golden Christ in his litany to the pendular movement of the universe: 'le jour et la nuit, la vie et la mort, l'être et la vie, ce qu'on appelle, parce qu'il est actuel, le vrai, et son contraire'.<sup>40</sup> With due respect for the science of pataphysics which affirms the identity of contrary propositions - in contrast with the physical sciences in which principles exclude a priori their opposites - Christ gives way to the Antechrist and

Peter's imprisonment in the stocks is followed by his freedom. Similarly, in the poem, the male figure is described as either in motion ('sur un char' line 8) or motionless ('sur un piédestal de marbre' line 9). No sooner is Pierre-Humanité free than, as a good pataphysician who knows that freedom equals slavery, he seeks a new master. His reflection tells him to 'marche à la croix de cuivre' (ibid., p.187). The cross lowers its arms and walks. The Antechrist exists. In the poem, the male figure raises the axe with his 'bras de cuivre' (lines 13-4) - the principle of identical opposites, once more. The creation of the Antechrist in 'l'acte prologal' will be followed by the metamorphosis, in 'l'acte héraldique', of the statuesque César into the spherical Ubu. The same process is implicit in the poem, in line 9, which begins 'Ou sur...'. In Gestes et opinions..., Jarry wrote 'roux sur...' (p.45), where 'roux' on one level means 'ruddy' (thereby reinforcing the colour image contained in 'cuivre') and, on another, is homophonous with 'roue', 'wheel', a reference to Ubu's spherical shape. That this double reference was also intended in the poem is evident from the fact that the line which precedes 'Ou sur...' ends with the letter 'r' (of 'César'), thus giving 'r Ou sur...' <sup>41</sup>

The golden birds perched upon Peter's cross in 'l'acte prologal' of César-Antechrist are already present in Act I, Scene V of 'Haldernablou', in which Haldern offers his palm to Ablou for him to carve upon it four golden birds:

Veux-tu qu'Après je te tende ma paume ouverte, où de la pointe d'un couteau tu graveras les ocellures d'un reliquaire avec quatre oiseaux d'or?

(A. Jarry: Les Minutes... p.121).

Lines 3 and 4 of the poem repeat this theme of the carved sacred image. The word 'monts' (line 4) refers in palmistry to the fleshy prominences at the base of each finger, each of which bears the name of a divinity.<sup>42</sup> We remember that, in Gestes et opinions..., the king's function was to 'sauvegarder pour son peuple l'image de ses dieux' (p.45). The birds are perched on the cross, which in addition to being a major symbol of Christianity, is also, along with the square, the theosophical derivation of the number 4 (the number of birds perched on it). Papus, in his theosophical treatise referred to earlier (cf.p.116) defined the number three, the triangle as 'l'idée', four, the cross or square, 'la forme, l'adaptation' and seven, triangle plus cross/square as 'la réalisation: alliance de l'idée et de la forme',<sup>43</sup> hence the triangular shape of Peter's cross, hence also the bizarre motto, 'En T.P.M. V.E.M.P.' with which the Nabi painters closed their letters to one another and which Jarry knew well: 'en ta paume ma verbe et ma pensée', verb and thought, form and idea, realisation of the divine. The shared reference to palmistry in Jarry and the Nabis is obviously no coincidence, no more than the mystical emblem of the Tau which informs so much of Jarry's poetry and drawings and which appears frequently in Nabi paintings.<sup>44</sup>

That the God in this particular case was the Antechrist is clear from the presence of his 'démons' with their traditional attribute, 'sournois' (line 4). In origin and function, they are the direct emanation of their master's will. In line 7, they crawl at his feet. Similarly, in Scene X of 'l'acte

héraldique', Ubu's 'palotins' describe themselves as 'des êtres animés, dans d'ophidiennes caisses...' <sup>45</sup> while in 'l'acte terrestre', Ubu says of them that 'la bile financière leur sortait par des trous et rampait en varicocèles d'or ou de cuivre' (ibid., p.91). Here, Jarry rejoins Gauguin's exploitation of the serpent theme in Christian and Maori mythology.

Lines 8 and 9 explicitate the relationship between poem and play. Line 8 compares the male figure to César, line 9 to the Antechrist, whom Jarry represents on a marble pedestal in an image which appeared ~~for~~ the first time in L'Ymagier of January 1895 and which refers to Scene III of 'l'acte héraldique'. <sup>46</sup> At the same time, the image clarifies the meaning of 'vagues' in line 3, for the Antechrist's banner is crossed by a double, undulating fess.

The tree-trunk referred to in line 10 is a fine example of the freedom with which Jarry transforms visual sources and, in particular, of the way in which he exploits the image both in the associations of its subject-matter and in its formal arrangement in order to widen poetic language's range of suggestions. Materially, the tree serves to build fishing-boats and both poem and painting contain this literal meaning. In Christian mythology, however, the theme of fishing has connotations which are inseparable from Christ's words to Peter that he was to be a fisher of men. In the first scene of 'l'acte prologal', Peter describes himself as 'comme un grand arbre ou un polype sous le bleu de l'air liquide', <sup>47</sup> where the tree, the colour and the re-

ference to the sea ('l'air liquide') lead us back to Gauguin's painting. In Castes et opinions..., the king is described as fixing an image with three nails to the mast of a boat, as Christ and Peter were nailed to the cross, 'et ce fut comme une voile triangulaire ou le poisson d'or rapporté du septentrion'(p.46). The triangular veil is obviously that contained in Gauguin's painting just below the upper frame but is also that of Peter's triangular cross as well as the small triangles which border the right side of the Antechrist's cloak ('voile' = sail and/or veil) in the drawing of L'Ymagier, with all of the associations which we have already seen linked to this symbol, whether in heraldic or mystical theories. Similarly, the golden fish brought back from the North on one level refers to the yellow fishing-net in Gauguin's picture, on another, is a transparent Jarryism for the golden bird (fish from the North/sky) of César-Antechrist, itself a pataphysical metamorphosis of certain of the instruments used in the crucifixion. In Scene II of 'l'acte prologal', one of the birds remarks:

...je me suis fait le maillet qui l'a cloué sur le tronc d'arbre.

(A. Jarry: Les Minutes..., p.178).

From the history of myth to contemporary psychoanalysis is a small matter for the word. These brief remarks upon the image of the tree-trunk have so far omitted the most obvious association of all and one which the poet undoubtedly intended. It is, of course, the symbol of the phallus.<sup>48</sup>

In Scene III of 'l'acte héraldique',

Orlo (i.e. César-Antechrist) is borne aloft by four heralds. Their role ends as César assumes the sphericity of Ubu and the poem recounts their disappearance. In Scene V, Pairle points out that the heralds will be César's satellites again only after the pendulum has swung back from Ubu to César, that is, after Ubu's 'acte terrestre':

Nous ne serons ses satellites qu'après la fin de sa vie terrestre.

(A. Jarry: César-Antechrist, p.25).

Similarly, Chef feels a gale 'qui chasse les bêtes du monde héraldique' (ibid.). In the poem, César is building a boat:

Pour debout dessus nous poursuivre

Jusqu'à la fin verte des lieues.

Jarry's 'démons' endure a burlesque variation of their fate in Gauguin's painting, a parody of their exile from Gauguin's mythological paradise.

The poem, 'L'Homme à la hache' shows Jarry incorporating Gauguin's Tahitian imagery within a logic of the absurd. The same process is repeated in each of the poems which take a Gauguin painting as their point of departure. We saw earlier that the painter described his artistic development in terms of a complication of the idea through a simplification of the form. (cf. p.119). During the short period which they spent together in Brittany, Gauguin must have explained the meaning of this formula to Jarry for it reappears, six weeks later, in the introduction to Les Minutes...

La simplicité n'a pas besoin d'être simple, mais du com-

plexo resserré et synthétisé (cf. Pataph.).

(A. Jarry: Les Minutes..., p.viii).

In 'L'Homme à la hache', Jarry exploits the principle to the full. He writes a poem which, on the face of it, illustrates, through notations which could hardly be more direct, the painting's narrative and formal elements. The only concession to poetical sophistication seems to be the metaphor, 'tel un César'. For the rest, we have a traditional verse-form, the sonnet, a solitary verbal tense, the present and an elementary, at times almost infantile, rhythmic structure.<sup>49</sup> There is no descent within the self, no lyrical 'rêverie' with which to suggest, through a network of metaphors, any felt correspondence between sensible and spiritual domains. It appears, in a word, to be anti-symbolist. The painter's aim had been to abstract pictorial style sufficiently to attain the decorative effect of primitive mural, thereby raising an everyday scene to the rank of primitive fable. Using the same material, Jarry preserved, through deliberate rhythmic effects, the essential simplicity of the painting and, at the same time, with a minimum of semantic and syntactical re-arrangements, propelled the poem into the orbit of César-Antechrist and poetic language towards autonomy. That is, in order to express quite different ideas, painter and poet used the same means. The public of the 1890's, including the readers of the Mercur de France, were no more prepared for the poem than they were for the painting.

Reaction to Les Minutes... among the literary Symbolists was notable by its absence - in itself, a



sure sign of the disorientation which it provoked. 'La meule des Minutes est étrangement perfectionnée, et même trop, chantent des murmures', commented the tolerant but clearly puzzled Remy de Gourmont.<sup>50</sup> He at least was consistent. Since Symbolism was, in his mind, identical to individualism, he attributed the obscurities in Jarry's book to the novelty of the symbols employed. He does not sound convinced by his own explanation, however, for he ended his review by suggesting that Jarry's method so exasperated symbolic procedures as to make meaning impossible:

Quant...à la lecture seconde que l'on doit faire de ses signes entrelacés, il est préférable d'en taire le secret ou la méthode.

(ibid., p.178).

Like the Tahitian titles which Gauguin gave to his paintings, Jarry's heraldic emblems appeared to his contemporaries as verbal mystification, gratuitous and provocative. By multiplying the contexts in which each image appeared, Jarry suggested that a network of meanings existed and, at the same time, made them inaccessible. Signs interrelated with such deliberate complexity cease to be signs. Instead, they become autonomous verbal groups, continually turning upon themselves, symbols only of this independent action. With Jarry, poetic language is propelled into abstraction.

Jarry's literary precursors are, of course, well-known. Lautréamont and Rimbaud contributed to the fantastic, Rabelais to the burlesque, elements in Jarry's writing, while Mallarmé's theories of poetic language are taken to their limits in poems such as the one which we have examined in this

chapter. His tastes in painting mirror those in literature. He was greatly attracted to the ~~fantastic~~ quality of Redon's imagery and to the mysticism of Filiger, but Gauguin seems to me to have represented for Jarry the successor to Manet. In a review of an exhibition in the Durand-Ruel gallery, Jarry wrote:

Seules toiles qui pouvaient succéder à Redon dans ces galeries sans dépression ni diminution: MANET. De celui-là qui l'aime doit mieux n'en point parler, et dire: Allez-y voir.

(A. Jarry: 'Minutes d'art', L'Art littéraire, nouv. sér., n°5-6, Mai-Juin 1894, p.91).

Jarry admired Manet for the same reasons as and, no doubt thanks to, Mallarmé. Before Manet and the Impressionists, classical perspective and the object's solid contours had been the basis of pictorial unity. Open-air painting laid waste to both principles and, with them, disappeared the limits within which visual representation had hitherto been contained. At this point, light presented itself as a new unifying principle of painting, for as it dissolved objects in the world, it recomposed them in the eye of the observer. With this example in mind, Mallarmé disrupted traditional syntax, based upon a linear sequence of fixed linguistic relationships. The Neo-Impressionists attempted to codify and thereby control the stylistic innovations of their predecessors and their attempt to do so proved irresistible to Gustave Kahn, who, in Les Palais nomades, incorporated the greater freedom which the 'vers libre' represented within his reconstruction of a total, defined human experience.<sup>51</sup> Jarry, on the other hand, like Gauguin but more completely than him, refused to set limits upon artistic

language: 'Où commence l'exécution d'un tableau, où finit-elle?' Gauguin had asked (cf. *supra*, p. 123). Of the meaning of a poem, 'jamais le lecteur ne (la) percevra total(e)', replied Jarry (cf. *supra*, p. 322). Their aims were different. For Gauguin, painting was a mystical experience. The eye's instantaneous grasp of the secret meanings of lines and colours (and the inferences contained in the images which they formed) was a symbol, an 'équivalent', of divine perception. Jarry's poetry defied both human and mystical limits. Meanings escape from all sides, as he pushes back the limits which even Mallarmé set upon the 'two states' of language. In the poem, 'L'Homme à la hache', the veil of simplicity drawn by the short, descriptive notations is removed just enough to release poetic language into the irrationality of pataphysics, in which every act, the linguistic act included, is an exception. In the poetic debate of the 1890's, Morice and Jarry occupy the poles, Morice the illustrative use of poetic language, Jarry the autonomous. Between the two, astride the trends of Symbolism and abstraction, we find the painting of Paul Gauguin.

Notes to Chapter Six.

1. Ch. Morice: Paul Gauguin, p.31.
2. See the painter's letter to his wife, dated 8 December 1892 in: Lettres...à sa femme.... pp.236-8 and that, written the same day, to de Monfreid in: Lettres de Paul Gauguin..., pp.15-7.
3. C. Pissarro: Lettres à son fils...., pp.233-4, 317-8.
4. C. Maclair: 'Choses d'art', Mercur de France, Tome 12, n°59, Novembre 1894, p.285.
5. Retté's letter was addressed to Alfred Vallette. See 'Echos divers et communications', Mercur de France, Tome 12, n°60, Décembre 1894, p.390.
6. Retté's first public attack upon Mallarmé came in his review of La Musique et les lettres. See A. Retté: 'Chronique des livres' La Plume, Tome 6, n°138, 15 janvier 1895, pp.64-5. In the epilogue to a volume of verse published the same year, Retté attacked what he considered to be the disastrous effects upon poetry of the poetic style of Mallarmé and his followers:

Ils modelaient leur âme en coupe de mensonge  
Qu'ils tendaient à la soif d'enfants ensorcelés

(A. Retté: L'Archipel en fleurs, Paris, Bibliothèque artistique et littéraire, 1895, p.120).

while his own emergence from this influence is characterized by the same fanatical sense of mission which we saw in the attacks upon Gauguin:

J'ai renversé leur temple et contre eux j'ai tiré  
L'épée où l'aube claire éclate en étincelles...

J'ai nié leur savoir, j'ai souffleté leurs loix -  
M'auréolant d'azur et d'ardeurs souveraines,  
Un astre m'éclairait qui combattait pour moi...

(ibid.).

It is interesting to compare the second, 1897 edition of Retté's Cloches en la nuit (Paris, Vanier) with the original 1889 version. In the second, many of the distinctive Mallarméan influences are removed. Punctuation, on the other hand, absent (through Mallarmé's influence) in 1889, is used in the normal way in 1897.

W. K. Cornell in: Adolphe Retté 1863-1930 (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1942) relates Retté's attacks upon Mallarmé to the former's flirtation, from 1893, with anarchism. I do not think that the author could have made this remark had he been aware of Retté's letter to Vallette. Retté's 'anarchism' simply cannot be taken seriously. For the opposite view, see Cornell's book, particularly chapter 3, 'The Anarchist and Revolutionary (1893-1896)', pp.54-85.

7. M. Denis: 'Définition...', pp.6 and 12.

8. M. Denis: 'L'influence de Paul Gauguin', p.160.

9. Compare the later remarks of M. Denis:

Il suffira de rappeler que nous résumons la doctrine par la théorie des deux déformations: la déformation objective, qui s'appuyait sur une conception purement esthétique et décorative...et la déformation subjective, qui faisait entrer dans le jeu la sensation personnelle de l'artiste...

(M. Denis: 'L'époque du symbolisme', pp.175-6).

10. cf. supra, p.155.

11. See, in this respect, A. Chastel: 'L'interprétation ésotérique de l'art de la Renaissance à la fin du siècle dernier' in: Umanesimo e esoterismo, Padova, Cedam, 1960, pp.439-48.

12. S. Merrill: 'Souvenirs sur le symbolisme', La Plume, Tome 17, n°354, 1er février 1904, p.108.

13. C. Mauclair: Mallarmé chez lui, p.141.

14. In a letter to his wife of July 1892, Gauguin wrote:

Dans ce moment je suis presque à bout de force et en tout cas au bout de rouleau grâce à Morice qui dit beaucoup m'aimer mais qui ne le prouve pas...Il avait de l'argent à moi...

(P. Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.228).

Gauguin was convinced that Morice had kept the proceeds of his sale of the previous year. See also P. Gauguin: Lettres de Paul Gauguin..., p.8.

15. Thus, the critic wrote that 'ce qu'il cherchait en Bretagne, il l'a définitivement trouvé à Tahiti: la simplification de la ligne et de la couleur, et leurs harmonies correspondantes, dans le décor'(O. Mirbeau: 'Retour de Tahiti' in: P.Gauguin: Cahier...). Gauguin cut out this and other reviews of the exhibition and stuck them at the front and back of his Cahier pour Aline.

16. A. Delaroche: 'D'un point de vue esthétique à propos du peintre P. Gauguin', L'Ermitage, Tome 8, n°1, Janvier 1894, pp.35-9. The painter considered the article 'remarquable' (cf: P. Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.293) and described Delaroche as the only writer to have understood him (ibid.), which is not strictly true. J. Leclercq replied to Mauclair's campaign by attacking the theory of intellectual painting which led Mauclair to prefer Besnard, Rochegrosse and the painters of the Rose+Croix to Gauguin:

M. Camille Mauclair et la plupart des poètes...passent à côté d'un Gauguin...sans y rien apercevoir.

(J. Leclercq: 'La lutte pour les peintres', Mercur de France, Tome 12, n°59, Novembre 1894, p.264).

Leclercq's article also confirms the fact that not only aesthetic values were involved in Mauclair's attacks upon the painter, for, in addition to praising Gauguin's colour as 'profonde, puissante et grave, tout à fait adéquate au style dans lequel il a conçu ces choses...' (ibid., p.267), Leclercq defended Gauguin's right to paint in Tahiti rather than in France, a right denied the painter by Mauclair, who described Gauguin's art as colonial (ibid., p.265).

Years later, when the dust had settled, Kahn, recalling Gauguin's 1893 exhibition, underlined the extent to which this art seemed at that time to be an alien culture:

On ne niait pas l'extraordinaire valeur décorative... mais on ne comprenait pas ses légendes maories. Aussi la conception de la beauté tahitienne, des belles filles de cuivre aux larges yeux doux, aux chevelures lisses, au torse libre, aux larges pieds, étonna.

(G. Kahn: 'Paul Gauguin', L'Art et les artistes, nouv. sér., Tome 12, n°61, Novembre 1925, p.61).

17. Gauguin, afraid that Morice's poetry and literary commentaries would lessen the emotional impact of his Tahiti experiences, decided to write his own version. For the whole complex account of the genesis of the different manuscripts, see J. Lotze: 'Gauguin sous le masque ou cinquante ans d'erreur autour de Noa-noa' in: P. Gauguin: Noa-noa, Paris, A. Balland, 1966, pp.65-112. This was the first French edition of Gauguin's own manuscript; that of Morice was published in 1901 (Paris, Editions de La Plume). Extracts of Morice's version had already appeared in La Revue blanche, Tome 14, n°105, 15 octobre 1897, pp.81-103 and n°106, 1er novembre 1897, pp.166-90. References to the Gauguin manuscript will be made as follows: Gauguin: Noa-noa; those to that of Morice: Morice: Noa-noa.

18. Quotations from Jarry's work will be taken from the original editions: Les Minutes de sable mémorial, Paris, Mercure de France, 1894; César-Antechrist, Paris, Mercure de France, 1895; Gestes et opinions du docteur Faustroll, pataphysicien, suivi de Spéculations, Paris, Fasquelle, 1911. The manuscript of Les Minutes... has not been found, while, of César-Antechrist, only 'l'acte héraldique' has been traced. It is at present in the Réserve précieuse of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (Fonds Solvay, Inv.1179). For further information, see A. Jarry: Oeuvres complètes Tome I, (textes établis, présentés et annotés par M. Arrivé), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1972, pp.1096-1100 and 1126-8.

19. Morice was aware of Gauguin's intention to show, in Noa-noa, the superiority of primitive civilization for he referred to it in his book on the painter:

...qu'il ait dit avoir 'imaginé et ordonné cette collaboration' pour montrer la supériorité du sauvage naïf et brutal sur le 'civilisé pourri', cela n'a point d'importance. Les mots, du reste, que j'inscris entre guillemets, sont employés dans un sens général: Gauguin confronta la civilisation et la sauvagerie, et non pas le poète et le peintre.

(Ch. Morice: Paul Gauguin, p.188).

It was in Morice's own interests to make the distinction. The theme of the spirits of the dead, so important in early Tahiti culture, had led Gauguin to one of his finest paintings, 'Manao tupapau' but produced less happy results in Morice's verse:

Mortes affamées  
D'être aimées  
Qui laissent les garçons pâmés

Ouh ouh ouh  
Les Tupapaus.

(Ch. Morice: Noa-noa, p.67).

20. Since this painting is in the A. Lewyt collection in New York, it is surprising to find M. Arrivé regretting 'que le tableau auquel ce sonnet fait allusion...ait disparu sans laisser de trace depuis 1893' (A. Jarry: Oeuvres complètes, p.1106). For full details of the painting's history, see G. Wildenstein; R. Cagniat: Gauguin. Catalogue, Paris, Les Beaux-Arts, 1964, n°430, pp.168-9.

21. Ch. Morice: Noa-noa, p.53.

22. J.A. Moerenhout: Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan, Paris, A. Bertrand, 1837, 2 vol.

23. cf. F. Cachin: Gauguin, pp.227 and 249. Gauguin used both figures in other paintings: the female figure in 'Pêcheuses tahitiennes' (Cat. Wild., n°429, p.168), the male in 'Matamoe. Le Paysage



aux paons (ibid., n°484, pp.195-6).

24. P. Gauguin: Noa-noa, p.28.

25. The following praise of androgynism is typical:

Ephèbe aux petits os, au peu de chair, mélange de force qui viendra et de grâce qui fuit. O moment indécis du corps comme de l'âme, nuance délicate, intervalle imperçu de musique plastique, sexe suprême, mode troisième! Los à toi!

(J. Péladan: 'Hymne à l'androgynie', La Plume, Tome 2, n°45, Mars 1891, p.83).

Sublimated sexuality as a work of art. How disgusting the explicit sexuality of many of Gauguin's Tahiti paintings must have appeared to Péladan's refined cliques.

26. Ch. Morice: Noa-noa, p.86.

27. cf: Avec l'amour et la colère de l'acier  
Frappe au pied le grand Arbre; O jeune justicier!

(Ch. Morice: Noa-noa, p.101).

Gauguin (Noa-noa, p.45) wrote: 'Je partis avec deux années de plus -  
rajeuni de vingt ans...'.  
14

28. W. Andersen: Gauguin's Paradise..., p.96.

29. As for Jarry's love of his native Brittany, we have the following description of his room in the boulevard St.- Germain:

Aux murs, des images de saints, des crucifix, des encensoirs et une foule de choses servant au culte. Tout cela venait de la Bretagne, ce pays béni de tout ce qui sent le moyen âge, la superstition et les histoires de revenants, et avait la naïveté et la lourdeur de style des bois sculptés par les paysans de là-bas.

(A. Haas: 'Souvenirs de la vie littéraire à Paris', Les Soirées de Paris, Tome II, 15 mai 1914, p.270).

One is reminded of Gauguin's letter to Schuffenecker of February 1888:

J'aime la Bretagne: j'y trouve le sauvage, le primitif.

Quand mes sabots résonnent sur ce sol de granit, j'entends le ton sourd, mat et puissant que je cherche en peinture...

(P. Gauguin: Lettres...à sa femme..., p.322).

30. P. Sérusier: ABC de la peinture, Paris, Floury, 1950, p.60. 'Daniel' was, of course, Daniel de Monfreid.

31. See Jaworska: Gauguin et l'école..., pp.159-68. See also A. Jarry: 'Filiger', Mercur de France, Tome 12, n°59, Septembre 1894, pp.73-7 and 'Lettres de Charles Filiger à Alfred Jarry', Dossiers du collège de pataphysique, n°22-4, Octobre 1963, pp.7-18.

32. This fact strongly suggests that 'Manao tupapau' was one of the eight paintings sent in advance to Paris. cf. *supra*, note 2.

33. In the introduction to Les Minutes..., Jarry admitted to having eliminated much of its original material:

Et il y a divers vers et proses que nous trouvons très mauvais et que nous avons laissés pourtant, re-tranchant beaucoup...

(p.viii).

The two poems dedicated to Gauguin which were eliminated from Les Minutes..., 'Ia Orana Maria' and 'Manao tupapau', were published for the first time in: A. Jarry: La Revanche de la nuit. Poèmes retrouvés (édition établie par M. SAILLET), Paris, Mercure de France, 1949, pp.70-9.

34. The considerable amount of research devoted to Jarry has centred almost exclusively upon his theatrical works. There exists no serious study of his early poetry. Brief, general remarks upon Les Minutes... are contained in: J.-H. Levesque: Alfred Jarry, Paris, Seghers, 1951, pp.25-9; C. Giedion-Welcker: Alfred Jarry, eine Monographie, Zurich, die Arche, 1960, pp.40-7 and 52-4 and L. Perche: Alfred Jarry, Paris, Editions universitaires, 1965, pp. 83-99. Of these, however, only Giedion-Welcker even mentions, in

passing, the poems inspired by Gauguin's painting. The one major contribution to our understanding of Jarry's use of language is that of M. Arrivé: Les Langages de Jarry. Essai de sémiotique littéraire, Paris, Klincksieck, 1972 but, here again, attention is focused upon the trilogy César-Antechrist, Ubu roi and Ubu enchaîné. For this critical neglect of Jarry's poems, the obscurity of the texts themselves is no doubt responsible.

35. One is reminded of a similar introduction to another work published the following year:

Vouloir l'expliquer d'abord c'est en restreindre aussitôt le sens; car si nous savons ce que nous voulions dire, nous ne savons pas si nous ne disions que cela. - On dit toujours plus que CELA. [Gide's capitals].

(A. Gide: 'Paludes' in: Romans, récits et soties, oeuvres lyriques (Introduction par M. Nadeau, notices et bibliographie par Y. Danet et J.-J. Thierry), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1958, p.89).

36. A. Jarry: Gestes et opinions..., p.45

37. cf: 'Etre horrible et vague, la nuit en ferveur l'a vomi ainsi qu'une lourde vague qui glisse et déferle aux dalles d'un phare' (ibid., p.14).

38. This use is confirmed by the Littré ('armer: 6° en termes de blason, armer un écusson, en composer les armes') where Jarry is known to have obtained much of his information on heraldry.

39. It would be too much to expect the meanings of 'tintamarres des hasards' to end here. In chapter 17 of Gestes et opinions..., Faustroll and his monkey arrive at the 'île fragrante':

L'amarre de l'as fut enroulé autour d'un grand arbre balancé au vent comme un perroquet bascule dans le soleil. (p.45).

'Tintamarres' may now be read as 'tint-amarre': 'tinter' is used in marine terminology to refer to the act of blocking a boat on stocks. The boat, 'l'as' is repeated in the first syllable of 'hasards' (though, with a little imagination, one might see, in

the first syllable, an allusion to the solitary utterance of which Faustroll's monkey, 'Bosse-de-Nage' is capable: 'Ha-Ha', and, in the second, a homophone of 'Tsar', introducing the 'César' of the following sentence; 'Tsar' is, of course, an Eastern European derivation of 'César'). Earlier in the 'novel', Faustroll 'explains' the use of the noun, 'as' for the boat:

(il) s'appelle un as sans doute parce qu'il est construit pour porter trois personnes. [Jarry's italics].

(ibid., p.16).

an unmistakeable allusion to the Holy Trinity, as it appears in César-Antechrist ('L'un se manifeste trois', p.134) and whose significance will become obvious later in this chapter.

It is interesting to see Jarry describe the branches of the tree in terms of a parrot's tail for this is exactly how Gauguin described it:

Tandis que le cocotier malade semblait un immense perroquet laissant tomber sa queue dorée...

(P. Gauguin: Noa-noa, p.21).

40. A. Jarry: César-Antechrist, p.181.

41. This theme of circularity is particularly evident in line 11:

Pour debout dessus nous poursuivre

in which the central sound of 'sus' is surrounded, first by the 'ou' of 'debout' and 'nous', then by the 'our' of 'pour' and 'poursuivre'.

42. In French, that beneath the thumb is called the 'mont de Mars', the index, the 'mont de Jupiter', the middle finger, the 'mont de Saturne', beneath the ring-finger, the 'mont de Vénus' and the little finger, the 'mont de Mercure'.

43. Papus: Traité élémentaire..., p.110.

44. See Peintures, gravures et dessins d'Alfred Jarry (Préface et

commentaire des oeuvres par M. Arrivé), Paris, Collège du Pataphysique et Cercle Français du livre, 1968. There is an interesting discussion of the Tau cross in the paintings of the Nabis in: G. Mauner: 'The Nature of Nabi Symbolism', The Art Journal, Vol. XXIII, n°2, Winter 1963, pp.96-103. Probably the best-known example is the cross above the bed in Vuillard's 'Au lit', in the Musée d'Art Moderne in Paris.

45. A. Jarry: César-Antechrist, p.40.

46. See Jarry: Peintures..., plate 27.

47. A. Jarry: Les Minutes... p.173.

48. M. Arrivé (in: A. Jarry: Oeuvres complètes, Tome I, pp.1097-1113) has shown the extent to which Les Minutes... is pervaded with sexual symbolism. Like Gauguin, Jarry revealed in his work a constant interest in sexual mythology.

49. The last two lines of the poem are particularly reminiscent of nursery rhyme. One of Gauguin's descriptions of his own art is very appropriate for Jarry's poem:

Quelquefois je me suis reculé bien loin, plus loin  
que les chevaux du Panthéon... jusqu'au dada de mon  
enfance, le bon cheval de bois.

(P. Gauguin: Avant et après, p.25).

The word which Gauguin used to describe his sense of having freed art from the classical tradition would, in turn, become the name of a literary group determined to destroy the principle of tradition and which would name Jarry as one of its own, the Dadaists.

50. R. de Gourmont: 'Les minutes de sable mémorial', Mercur de France, Tome 12, n°58, Octobre 1894, p.177.

51. It is revealing in this respect to see Kahn praise Degas and

Pissarro for having attained the symbol 'par l'horizon qu'ils savent mettre autour d'une figure ou d'un paysage...' (G. Kahn: 'L'art français...', p.126).

Chapter Seven.Alternative Modernisms? Concluding Remarks.

Of the vast cultural exchange between writers and painters in France during the nineteenth century, the symbolist movement marks, in a real sense, the culmination. In the thirty years which preceded it, the tradition of writers defending painters had been enriched by three outstanding examples. From 1845, Baudelaire channelled his fine intelligence and profound love of painting into the defence of Delacroix. From 1866, Zola threw the full weight of his personality and moral courage into the defence of Manet. From 1873, Mallarmé worshipped the same painter. It is an essential dimension of Manet's art to have reconciled these three writers, so diverse in their aims and realizations. The first symbolist generation was marked by the achievement, as Valéry understood very well. Referring later to Monet, Renoir and Degas, but immediately extending his remarks to include Baudelaire, Zola and Mallarmé, Valéry wrote:

Rien de plus rare, rien de plus glorieux que de s'assujettir une telle diversité de tempéraments, de rallier à soi des hommes si indépendants, si séparés par les instincts comme par les idées et par leurs intimes certitudes... Leur dissonance se résout magnifiquement en accord parfait sur un point: ils s'unissent jusqu'à leur fin sur le nom du peintre d'"Olympia".

©. Valéry: 'Le triomphe de Manet' in: Oeuvres complètes. Tome II, pp.1326-7).

Mallarmé's defence of Manet lies at the centre of the symbolist movement, not at the periphery, where it is usually placed, when it is placed at all. The first generation of symbolist poets took up where he left off and if, from 1886, after over a decade, the

Impressionists finally began to impose their art upon the public, it was to some extent at least thanks to these poets. For this, they have not been given the credit which they deserve. It is only quite recently that art historians have stopped saying that Impressionism ceased to exist as a pictorial style in 1886 because it was exhausted and led nowhere.<sup>1</sup> The symbolist poets would, in their majority, have found this a strange idea, for Mallarmé determined their pictorial preferences as surely as he did their literary ones, the difference being that when, from 1894, his influence upon poetry began to be attacked by certain of his original supporters in the name of what has come to be known as the 'classical revival', the painting to which he introduced them continued to grow in stature.

The early months of 1886 see a sharp crystallization in the relationships between painting and poetry. It resulted from Kahn's evolution on the one hand and from Wyzewa's article on Wagnerian painting on the other. Both contributed to the same pictorial trend - the link, in the literary mind, between the art of Puvis de Chavannes and that of the successors of Manet. Before Gauguin, through Aurier, insisted upon all that separated his art from the Impressionists, Neo-Impressionists and everyone else, Mallarmé taught a generation of poets that, whatever the original intentions of Impressionism might have been, the literal transcription of external reality was psychologically impossible and artistically irrelevant. Consequently, when the symbolist poets referred to the 'idealist reaction' in painting, they were



not, Aurier apart, criticizing the Impressionists but simply the narrow naturalism and conventional idealism of academic art. In the same way, their intentions were not 'anti-scientific'. Their interest in, and exploitation of, the theories of Charles Henry<sup>2</sup> are proof enough of this. The lesson which they drew from Ghil's theoretical jumble of Baudelaire, Rimbaud and Wagner was precisely that of the need to base their aesthetic theories upon the latest discoveries of the natural sciences while, at the same time avoiding the danger of enclosing the medium of their art within the arbitrary transparency of the mathematical sign: arbitrary, since any sign would do (the signified idea alone being important), transparent, since without drawing attention to itself, it conducted the spectator/reader directly to its referent. The importance of Wyzéwa's theory of emotional signs was to have solved, to the satisfaction of this group of poets, the theoretical problems raised by Ghil. The sign implied that something else was signified; it underlined the symbolic function of art. Its emotional quality prevented its meaning being restricted within an abstract, intellectual system of equivalents but instead released its capacity for providing intuitive glimpses into the meaning of things.

For poets in search of a new poetic language with which to express a new philosophical content, the attraction of Impressionism was a logical one. They were bound to be drawn towards a form of painting which they understood in terms of the object's dissolution through the effect of light and the

re-creation of its internal structure in the eye of the spectator. While the decadent poets saw in Impressionism a principle of dissolution which corresponded to their wider cultural pessimism, Mallarmé stressed structure, reunification, or, to use his own term, synthesis. The aesthetic equivalent was the symbol, which brought together different levels of meaning. Its philosophical dimension was the return to original unity, to that spiritual integrity which was man's first environment. Before Mallarmé, Baudelaire had described the expulsion from Paradise as the creation of multiplicity. Through Mallarmé, Impressionism represented for the symbolist poets nothing less than Paradise Regained.

From 1886, thanks largely to Fénéon, Wyzéwa and Kahn understood the stylistic links which, from 1882, Seurat had established between his own art and that of Puvis de Chavannes. While Impressionism suggested the existence of an original state of perfection through the eye's re-structuring of separate dashes of colour and the mind's play with visual analogies, Puvis suggested the dematerialization of reality through pale colours and simplified lines i.e. for the symbolist poets, different means to the same end. Where Impressionism created for Wyzéwa Wagnerian symphonies of colour, the art of Puvis de Chavannes was closer to Paul Verlaine's 'chanson grise'.<sup>3</sup> The difference was merely one of mood. What now appears to be an essential limitation of Puvis' art, his continuation of a lifeless, figurative code constituted his strength for the Symbolists. The classical imagery permitted recognition of a symbolic dimension to the image; the

simplifications in line and colour, the use of distant horizons to suggest infinity and so on, left a free rein to the imagination. The decorative hieratism which characterized for them the art of Puvis and the Impressionists seemed the solution to Ghil's rigid pictorial instrumentism.

During the ten-year period which begins in 1886, the reputation of Puvis de Chavannes grows to such an extent as to annul the distinctions upon which it was originally based. His art re-established the links between symbolist and academic art which Gauguin and the Nabis had severed. The Gauguin exhibition of 1893, set against a period of increasing political instability, accelerated, 'a contrario', this recuperation of Puvis de Chavannes. The banquet offered in the latter's honour by La Plume in January 1895 was attended by no less than 600 guests from across the artistic and political spectrum. The idea of Puvis' art as a healing influence, first expressed by those young symbolists who, like Wyzéwa, were suffering from an overdose of Zola and des Esseintes, soon took on real significance for the representatives of the artistic and political establishment, the one seeing it as a safeguard for the French classical tradition during a period of increasing individualism in the arts, the other, understanding the political implications of such an aesthetic programme at a time when anarchist activity was becoming more frequent and more violent. Guests at the banquet included Sully-Prudhomme, Jules Lemaitre and Emile Zola, such pillars of the Academy as Roll, Gervex and Carolus-Duran and M.G.Leygues, 'ministre de l'instruction

publique et des beaux-arts', no less, who, in the name of the government, spoke of the duty to salute 'avec respect et reconnaissance ceux qui, comme Puvis de Chavannes, ont porté haut le nom de la France et ont fait la patrie plus glorieuse et plus grande'.<sup>4</sup>

On the occasion of the banquet, 97 poets, the great and small of literary Symbolism wrote poems which were offered to the painter in an album, which would be difficult to equal as an anthology of the poetry of the 1890's. If many of them, like the painting to which they are dedicated, now seem to have the faded colour of an old photograph, it is because, while Kahn and, even more so, Jarry followed the example of Mallarmé and pursued in their own poetry the same search for an internal relationship between sign and signified which Mallarmé analysed in Manet and which they, in turn, found in Seurat and Gauguin respectively, Aurier, on the other hand, gave new authority to the idea of an external relationship between sign and signified which he inherited from the positivists and reinforced through a rather loose reading of Plato.<sup>5</sup>

If I began this study with Aurier's first article on Gauguin, it is because most historians of the painting of this period consider him to be the spokesman of the literary Symbolists on matters of painting, when the fact remains that the painter whom Aurier promoted to the leadership of pictorial Symbolism was not accepted by the majority of the poets. Wyzéwa, Kahn, Morice and Jarry apart, the majority of the movement

tended to preserve a traditional distinction between the interest of a painting's subject and that of the same subject in the world. Mauguier is a fine example of the critic who accepted Aurier's definition of the pictorial subject as a symbol of an archetypal essence but rejected the painter whom Aurier felt to most represent this approach. Such an attitude to the subject-matter of painting might still work well in the case of Impressionism, in which the subject still retained an important unifying role but it meant that many of the poets were ill-prepared to appreciate Gauguin, whose subjects were not obviously idealistic in the way in which those of Puvis were and whose formal values implied that the subject was more a pretext than a symbol. In addition, the same nationalistic overtones which become more and more evident in Puvis criticism begin to tell against Gauguin. The impressionist 'au-delà' was little more than an hour away from the literary cafés of the Latin Quarter. It could be found in the gardens of Parisian suburbs or on the Seine at Argenteuil. That of Puvis, a landscape set deep within the self, was less precise geographically but as unmistakably familiar. By comparison, Gauguin's Tahitian Eden seemed too explicitly foreign.

Thus, in 1891, Aurier, in spite of the reputation which he undoubtedly enjoyed in symbolist circles, reproduced, in part only the aesthetic tastes of his contemporaries. Quite apart from the painter whom he chose to defend, Aurier revealed, through his dismissive attitude to the pictorial subject, a decadent approach to nature, which, in 1891, was at least five

years out of date and which the painting of Monet and Pissarro in particular had further discredited. The prose 'poem' with which he opened his first article on Gauguin, together with his undoubted admiration for the impressionist painters whose theory of art he attacked on the same occasion, suggest in Aurier a more subtle approach to painting than the Gauguin article, taken as a whole, might suppose. The question will remain unanswered for his death in 1892 prevented him facing the acid test, the confrontation of his neo-platonic decadence with the strange new imagery which Gauguin brought back from Tahiti. As it was, Péladan, with his genius for publicity, his flair for fashion, must have sensed, as he read Aurier's criticism that the time was ripe for the Salons de la Rose+Croix.

A series of recent exhibitions has attempted to rehabilitate many of the painters who first revealed their works there.<sup>6</sup> To some extent, this is to be welcomed, for the complete oblivion into which these painters had fallen was, in part at least, the result of a narrow, formalist approach to art which considered abstraction as the culmination of modernism. The revival of interest, evident in every field, in symbolic procedures has lead to a more just appreciation of abstraction as only one form of modernism. Furthermore, the contemporary French Structuralists and Hyperrealists have revived interest in the semiotics of the image as opposed to the expressivity of pure form. Quite apart from the present taste for kitsch, the economic factor must be taken into consideration. Since the work of the

Impressionists had attained prices out of reach of all but the wealthiest individuals and institutions, an alternative 'tradition' was necessary for art-investment of a more modest kind. We are now on the point of taking Péladan and his friends too seriously, a mistake which the Symbolists in general did not make. Gourmont's reaction to their aesthetic programme (cf. supra, p.107, note 35) was repeated by many pro-symbolist critics. For G. Lecomte, the *Sâr* was just a 'habile ramasseur d'idées courantes'.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the critic of *La Plume* wrote:

Ah! çà! est-ce qu'on ne va pas bientôt nous laisser la paix avec ces fumisteries?

(E. Museaux: 'La Rose=Croix', *La Plume*, Tome 1, n°62, 15 novembre 1891, p.409).

However rushed their education in painting might have been, most of them knew enough, through their involvement in the defence of Impressionism and their admiration for Puvis de Chavannes, to see much of Rose+Croix painting for what it was, imitation - imitation of the Quattrocentists, imitation of Moreau, imitation of Puvis. Obviously, we should not ignore this work, nor misunderstand the aesthetic and sociological situation which gave rise to it. Nevertheless, Jean Lorrain was a sordid bore, Péladan was a clown and no alternative modernism should be invoked to give the one respectability, the other, seriousness. If an alternative modernist tradition is what we are looking for, then we need go no further than the work of Paul Gauguin. The formalist criticism which dominated the writing upon his art during the first half of this century ignored the extent to which Gauguin was a true mystic.

Like the allegory for Baudelaire, mysticism was, for Gauguin, a true spiritual force, the restitution of an authentic primitive reality. This would be obvious if we stopped criticizing the symbolic elements in his painting in terms of the 'pure' painting of Cézanne. Gauguin's art is modern because of his symbolism not in spite of it. Once embarked upon such re-evaluations, however, there is no knowing where they will end. One wonders, for example, how much longer such simplistic yet weighty oppositions between Impressionism and Symbolism will act as a screen between the spectator and the later works of Monet.

It is not simply a taste for paradox which leads me to say that, at the end of this study, it is encouraging to think of the ground which I have been unable to cover, for the sheer extent of the symbolist poets' involvement with painting is, in itself, part of the point which I have been trying to make. The exchange between the poets and painters of these years is of a scale to require several theses. A catalogue of poems inspired by paintings (themselves frequently of literary inspiration) would be long indeed, while the works of Poe, Flaubert and Baudelaire formed part of the intellectual baggage of any self-respecting symbolist painter. The Salomé theme, with such attendant themes as those of the fatal woman, the severed head etc., would alone fill volumes. Whatever the relationship to be studied, whether that between the work of Mallarmé and Manet, or Lorrain and Moreau, painting was, for the symbolist poets more than ever, the 'sister art' of poetry. The distinction which opposes pre-



symbolist and symbolist poetry on the grounds that while the former sought effects which might loosely be termed 'plastic', the latter sought those which might be called 'musical', is quite unacceptable. The symbolist poets did not interrupt the tradition of pictorial reference and analogy which is such a feature of nineteenth century French writing; on the contrary, they took it even further than previous generations. No doubt the musical analogy will continue to inform the history of the movement. Little harm would be done by it were it remembered that it served mainly to express the desire of the poets to return to the purely artistic nature of their medium, that is, to define an artistic sign which was self-sufficient and no longer simply a stepping-stone to a meaning situated outside of it. Few in 1885 were able to take this theory to its conclusion and the painters whom they singled out for admiration, the bases of their choice, reveal the various compromises which were made. Transcending them is the poetry of Mallarmé, Kahn and Jarry, through whom painting made a fundamental contribution to the development of the modernist tradition of French poetry.

Notes to Chapter Seven.

1. See in this respect: R. Goldwater: 'Symbolic Form: Symbolic Content' in: Acts of the XXth International Congress of the History of Art, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1963, p.116.

2. See A. Mercier: 'Charles Henry et l'esthétique symboliste', Revue des sciences humaines, Tome 35, n°138, Avril - Juin 1970, pp.251-72.

3. P. Verlaine: 'Art poétique' in: Oeuvres poétiques complètes, p.326.

4. See La Plume, Tome 6, n°138, 15 janvier 1895, p.47.

5. It is significant in this respect to find A. Delaroche, author of the article upon Gauguin which the painter so appreciated (cf; supra, p.341, note 16), writing the following praise of Mallarmé:

Le langage se peut considérer sous deux aspects: d'abord, comme notation quasi algébrique des objets ou idées - notations nécessairement en rapport arbitraire avec l'objectif; puis en lui-même, comme élément éparé d'une construction idéale à édifier, mais existant par soi "à l'exclusion de tout". En vrai poète, c'est toujours cette construction que vise M. Mallarmé....

(A. Delaroche: 'Notes bibliographiques: "La Musique et les lettres" par Stéphane Mallarmé', L'Ermitage, Tome 10, n°3, Mars 1895, p.189).

6. See, in the bibliography, section D, the following entries: Autour de Lévy-Dhurmer.... Centenaire de l'impressionnisme...., Edvard Munch.... L'Estampe impressionniste...., Esthètes et magiciens...., L'Evangile symboliste...., French Symbolist Painters...., Gauguin and the Pont-Aven Group...., Idéalistes et symbolistes...., Maurice Denis...., Le Musée de Luxembourg...., Peintres de l'imaginaires...., La Peinture romantique...., and Le Symbolisme en Europe....

7. G. Lecomte: 'La renaissance idéaliste', Revue de l'évolution  
2e année, n°26, 15 mars 1892, p.171.

Appendix I. The Contemporary French Structuralists on Painting.

The difference in approach to the pictorial sign between Gauguin and a symbolist critic such as Mauclair has been given a modern formulation in the discussion which opposes contemporary French art historians to the Structuralists. Thus R. Passeron makes a similar objection to the reciprocal implications of image and discourse as that seen in Gauguin:

Et l'on voit l'artiste, comme l'amateur de peinture, s'attacher à l'oeuvre d'autant plus qu'il y sent de l'ineffable, du mystère, en un mot toute une frange non sémantisée qui excite l'esprit (et notamment ses fonctions sémantisantes)...Une 'langue qui se cherche' n'est pas encore une langue, faute d'être utile à la communication. Dans la mesure où la peinture, comme art et comme création, ne cesse de se chercher, elle échappe au domaine des systèmes sémiologiques.

(R. Passeron: 'L'Oeuvre picturale et les fonctions de l'apparence', Paris, Vrin, 1962, p.234).

Again, for 'erupting volcanos', read 'a non-semanticized fringe'. The distinction is again based upon the extent to which painting is claimed to escape linguistic models of meaning. The limitations of this objection soon become apparent, however. The definition of semiological systems is too narrow. Passeron defines them as a means to communication, whereas a more exact description would be as a means of signification. One might at this point invoke a Saussurian distinction which Passeron does not appear to have made. While the latter defines painting as a 'langue qui se cherche' (and, therefore, not a language at all), Saussure differentiated between 'langue' and 'parole', a distinction maintained by Chomsky in his use of the terms 'competence' and 'performance'. The first is the

passive deposit of signs which the individual inherits from a speaking community; the second is every individual manifestation of language. While artistic 'language' perhaps does not belong to the former category, nothing in Passerón's objection prevents it belonging to the latter. By defining language as communication, he succeeds in separating painting not from literature but only from non-artistic language, while by defining painting as 'une langue qui se cherche', he provides a very satisfactory description of what a poet does when he sits down to organize an experience into poetic form. His rejection of language is, in fact, a rejection of only one sort of language.

It is ironic that at the very moment that critics such as Aurier and Mauclair (and even more obviously, René Ghil) were seeking to contain plastic expression within a defective verbal model, Saussure, in his lectures, first at the Sorbonne, then in Geneva, was working towards a theory of the sign which would cancel the radical distinction which they frequently made between the different levels of the image (the first level limited to that of pure sensation and, therefore, of no aesthetic value, the second, that of meaning or 'Idea' and, therefore, of aesthetic value). Far from being a word corresponding to a pre-existing idea, the sign, according to Saussure, was characterized by an axiomatic interdependence of image and concept, of signifier and signified. The former without the latter simply exists but does not signify; the latter without the former is ineffable, perhaps even non-existent. Meaning does not exist objectively, may not be

examined independently of the signs by which it is apprehended, but only by means of the relationships in which it participates.

Saussure believed that a condition of the elevation of linguistics to the status of a science depended upon its integration within a general system of signs, semiology. He also felt, however, that such a general system of signs other than linguistic ones could only be based upon the linguistic model. The methodological circle which these two views involve did not deter Saussure's successors, the Structuralists. The adoption of Hjelmslev's distinction between metalanguage and language-object<sup>1</sup> enabled R. Barthes to introduce his famous inversion of Saussure's formula:

...le savoir sémiologique ne peut être actuellement qu'une copie du savoir linguistique.

(R. Barthes: 'Eléments de sémiologie', Communications, n°4, 1964, p.92).

The obvious conclusion of this remark - the necessary mediation of the Saussurian-inspired linguistic model within all extra-linguistic semiological systems - has led to the application of a certain Saussurian orthodoxy to the domain of the visual arts. The transfer seems to me to raise certain problems, which I should like very briefly to examine.

The first difficulty soon presents itself. It is that of defining that which in a painting corresponds to the 'concept' and the 'acoustic image' (by which Saussure defined the component parts of the sign) and, through them, the articulation of legible and visual elements. Clearly, one may 'read' the pain-

ting by proceeding according to a declarative order in which each element is named and its meaning declared, but this would be to overlook the fact that the signifying process is not to be located in the sum of signifying parts but is both of and in a structured totality, whose parts signify through opposition to one another and through generation within the whole. At first sight, the Saussurian sign appears inadequate to localize this process.

Since Saussure, however, the theory of the linguistic sign has been enriched by that of the 'double articulation of language'.<sup>2</sup> By this, it is meant that the units on the 'lower' level of phonology (the sounds of a language, themselves non-significant) have no function other than that of combining with one another to form the 'higher' units of grammar, words. It is by function of this double structure of the expression-plane that languages are able to represent economically many thousands of different words. To this theory of the double articulation of language, any linguistic theory must do justice. Thus Marin (*op.cit.*, p.22) comments:

D'où la première question préalable à toute application du modèle linguistique à un objet non linguistique comme la peinture; y a-t-il en peinture quelque chose qui puisse être mis en correspondance avec le principe de la double articulation?

Marin replies in the affirmative by defining as the first, higher articulation the recognizable figurative elements in the painting and as the second, lower articulation, the differential units of lines and colours. The word-image correspondence might pass but the phoneme-line/colour comparison seems doubtful. In any given

language, the number of phonemes is limited. French has 34, English 41. This limitation is a form of economy necessary for man's limited mnemonic capacity since were a different sound to correspond to every different fact of experience, the number of signs needed would be infinite and human memory would soon be unable to cope. It does not, however, seem valid to limit painting's second articulation in this way, first; because the linguistic system is closed, that of painting is open, second; because such an articulation would involve decomposing a painting into ever-decreasing units, a never-ending catalogue of lines and blots of colour which, unlike phonemes, would not generate all representations but which would belong to a unique typography. Such articulations would result only in a description of typographical surfaces.

Similar problems arise with other elements of the transfer, notably that of the theory of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships. Saussure understood that it was in terms of these relationships that the form of a language might be accurately described. By virtue of its potentiality of occurrence in a certain context, a linguistic unit enters into relationships of two different kinds. It enters into paradigmatic relationships with all the units which can also occur in the same context (whether they contrast or are in free association with the unit in question) and into syntagmatic relationships with the other units of the same level with which it occurs and which constitute its context. The transfer of this theory to art was made all the more irresistible through the use which Saussure made of a comparison drawn from architecture in order to illustrate his point. The columns of a



building have certain relationships to each other and to the rest of the building (i.e. syntagmatic, among terms simultaneously present) and certain relationships to other kinds of columns, Doric, Corinthian, Ionic and so on, which might have been used (i.e. paradigmatic, among terms which might have been present **but** which are not).

Thus, again, Marin divides the main syntagm (the painting in its totality) into secondary syntagms or or syntagmatic units, constituted by each nameable figurative element. These units are of greater or lesser information density and are articulated by opposition to one another in and by the main syntagm. From one examination to another, there appear differences in the articulation of the main syntagm and, therefore, in the determination of the component syntagmatic units - hence the need to introduce Barthes' notion of the figurative matrix which allows the main syntagm to be conceived as a generative element, of which different syntagmatic units are, in different readings, the product. As an example of paradigmatic relationships, Marin quotes E. Wind's famous Pagan Mysteries in Renaissance Art in which the author studies, in the painting, engraving and sculpture of the Renaissance, the paradigm of the Three Graces according to resemblances and variations between the stoic, epicurean and platonic models.

Marin's syntagmatic relationships seem to offer a better-than-usual guarantee of the painting being understood as a unity rather than as a sum of parts but it is not obvious

why they should be necessary to such understanding, while his paradigmatic relationships are precisely those parts of the sign's function which are absent at the moment the sign is chosen:

A mesure que l'ouvrage s'étoffe, il arrive facilement qu'une association d'idées s'y greffe, s'appropriant à jouer les démons de l'interprétation figurative. Car avec un peu d'imagination, tout agencement un peu poussé prête à une comparaison avec des réalités connues de la nature.

Une fois interprété et nommé, pareil ouvrage ne répond plus entièrement au vouloir de l'artiste (du moins au plus intense de ce vouloir), et ces propriétés associatives sont l'origine de malentendus passionnés entre l'artiste et le public.

(P. Klee: Théorie de l'art moderne (Traduction par P.-H. Gonthier), Geneva, Gonthier, 1964, p.23).

Whatever the iconographical interest of such paradigmatic relationships, the painter denies their presence as paradigms at the moment at which the artistic sign imposes itself upon the artist as a solution to the pictorial problem at hand. For the painter, the artistic sign is always novel because particular and transitory because on the point of universalization. This moment passed, the artistic sign becomes public, that is, a sign in the more restricted and systematic use of the word and one in which the painter is no longer specially interested. To this refusal of signs as systematic and rigid as those which characterize verbal discourse, Gauguin, Matisse and Klee all bore witness.<sup>3</sup>

In this situation, a potentially more successful approach seems to me to be that implicit in Barthes' definition of the artistic 'texte'. Here, through opposition to communicative and representative, i.e. re-productive, language, the artistic text is defined by its quality of 'productivité' - a

elsewhere. The French Structuralists seem to make little, if any, reference to the present state of scientific studies into the relationship between visual and literary intake into the brain. I gather that it is not yet known whether the two codes in which visual and aural information ultimately arrive in different parts of the brain are the same. Because of the importance of eye-movement for storing visual information as opposed to the enforced linearity/depth-surface structure for language information, there is reason to doubt that they are. Consequently, the structure of language would not necessarily be basic to both systems as signs. This would not necessarily invalidate the French Structuralists' approach to painting, though it would be reassuring to find that their remarks were not made in ignorance of such problems.

Notes to Appendix I.

1. See L. Marin: 'Eléments pour une sémiologie picturale' in: Etudes sémiologiques: écritures, peintures, Paris, Klincksieck, 1971, pp.18-9.
2. See J. Lyons: Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1968, p.54.
3. T. Todorov considers this systematic quality of language as one of three which define its specificity, its distinctness from non-verbal signifying systems. See T. Todorov et O. Ducrot: Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences du langage, Paris, Le Seuil, 1972, p.136. C. Metz, in his article: 'Le cinéma: langue ou langage' (Communications, n°4, 1964, pp.52-90) also separates the cinema from a definition of language in the narrow sense of a system of signs destined for inter-communication.
4. See in this respect Barthes' preface to his Sade, Fourier, Loyola, Paris, Le Seuil, 1970, pp.7-16 and Kristeva's Semiotikè, Paris, Le Seuil, 1969, pp.7-27. One notable example of the method is J.-L. Schefer's Scénographie d'un tableau, Paris, Le Seuil, 1968. See Barthes' review of it: 'La peinture est-elle un langage?', La Quinzaine littéraire, n°68, 1er mars 1969, p.16.
5. Thus Schefer (op.cit.,p.7) underlines his aim to 'saisir dans ce qu'il [*i.e. the painting*] figure explicitement son niveau symbolique'. (Schefer's italics.)

Appendix II.      Mallarmé on Manet. A New Re-translation.

The final draft of chapter four of this thesis, 'Mallarmé: The Beginning and End of the Question', had already been typed when I read, in the Gazette des beaux-arts of November 1975 (pp.147-56), the following article:

P. Verdier: 'Stéphane Mallarmé: "Les impressionnistes et Edouard Manet", 1875-1876'.

Verdier's is the first complete re-translation into French of Mallarmé's 1876 article on Manet. The usefulness of such a re-translation not being immediately obvious, I was more interested in the author's introductory remarks (p.147):

A la prophétie de Mallarmé il n'a manqué que de prévoir le dernier style du Manet des café-concerts et du 'Bar des Folies-Bergères'. Mais sa vue va si loin qu'en circonscrivant le sujet de la peinture impressionniste à la réflexion durable et claire de ce qui vit perpétuellement et pourtant meurt à chaque instant, il pressent les 'séries' de Monet, peupliers et cathédrales, et qu'en faisant de tout coin de la nature un champ d'énigmes enregistrées par l'œil et la main de l'artiste agissant à leur guise et à sa guise, il semble annoncer non seulement les 'Nymphéas', mais les tentatives de l'expressionnisme abstrait.

Though these remarks are too sweeping, it should be obvious from my own analysis of Mallarmé that I agree with their spirit. Whether Mallarmé had a premonition of Abstract Expressionism is something, of course, which we shall never know, yet there is a real problem here. It would be true to say, for example, that of all French painters, Monet is generally felt to be the simplest, the easiest to understand and love, in a word, the most 'impressionist'. The re-discovery, in the early 1950's, of Monet's later works by

the Abstract Expressionists should have brought home the extent to which the theory of art known as 'Impressionism' is inadequate to describe Monet's art. That it did not really do so, Mallarmé would have been the first to deplore.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The Bibliography comprises, unless otherwise stated, works that have been consulted and is classified by the name of the author, or, if anonymous, by title. While it seemed impractical to separate, in the primary sources, art history from literary history and the two from aesthetic theory, since the symbolist poets and critics frequently contributed to each, such a division seemed helpful in the case of secondary material. The bibliography is, therefore, divided into the following sections:

<u>Section</u>	<u>Page</u>
A. A bibliography of bibliographies.	376
B. Primary sources.	381
C. Secondary Sources. 1. Literary History.	441
D. Secondary Sources. 2. Art History.	460
E. Secondary Sources. 3. Aesthetic Theory.	473
F. Miscellaneous.	480

A. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

Classified by the name of the author, or, if anonymous, by title. No mention is made in the bibliography of the catalogues of the two major libraries consulted during the course of this research: The Bibliothèque Nationale and the British Museum. It goes without saying that both catalogues have been used consistently.

Art Index. A Cumulative Author and Subject Index to a Selected List of Fine Arts Periodicals, New York, The H.W. Wilson Co. [First appeared in 1929. See in particular the section: 'Art and Literature'.]

BALDENSPERGER, F., FRIEDRICH, W.P. Bibliography of Comparative Literature, 2nd ed., New York, Russell and Russell, 1960, 710pp. [First published in 1950 by the University of North Carolina Press. For Baldensperger, see also, in this section, BETZ, L.P.]

BARRE, A. Bibliographie de la poésie symboliste, Paris, Jouve, 1911, xii-296pp.

BERNARD, S. 'Etat présent des études sur Rimbaud', L'Information littéraire, 14e année, n°2, Mars-Avril 1962, pp.55-9; n°3, Mai-Juin 1962, pp.93-102.

BETZ, L.P. La Littérature comparée. Essai bibliographique (2e édition augmentée, publiée, avec un index méthodique, par F. Baldensperger), Strasbourg, J. Trübner, 1904, 410pp. [First published in 1899.]

Centre National de Bibliographie [Brussels]. Les Bibliographies. [Short brochures, published 1964-1968. They include the following:  
1964, n°19, 'Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec', 10pp.  
1965, n°15-16, 'Vincent van Gogh', 20, 7pp.  
n°24, 'Saint-Pol-Roux', 4pp.  
1966, n°13, 'Georges Seurat', 3pp.  
n°23, 'Odilon Redon', 4pp. ]

CHANDLER, A.R., BARNHART, E.N. A Bibliography of Psychological and and Experimental Aesthetics, 1864-1937, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1938, 190pp. [A revised and enlarged edition of Chandler's Bibliography of Experimental Aesthetics, 1865-1932, published in 1933.]



CUENOT, C. Etat présent des études verlainiennes, Paris, "Les Belles Lettres", 1938, 125pp.

CUENOT, C. 'Nouvel état présent des études verlainiennes', L'Information littéraire, 8e année, n°5, Septembre-Octobre 1956, pp.127-32.

DAVIES, G. 'Stéphane Mallarmé. Fifty Years of Research', French Studies, Vol.I, n°1, October 1947, pp.1-26.

DREHER, S., ROLLI, M. Bibliographie de la littérature française, 1930-1939 (Complément à la bibliographie de H.P.Thieme), Geneva, Droz, 1948, 440pp.

DREVERT, M. Bibliographie de la littérature française, 1940-1949 (Complément à la bibliographie de H.P. Thieme), Geneva, Droz, 1955, 646pp.

French XX Bibliography. Critical and Biographical References for the Study of Contemporary French Literature, New York, French Institute. [First appeared in 1954 as French VI.]

GOUMONT, R. de. Les Petites revues. Essai de bibliographie, Paris, Mercure de France, 1900, 34pp.

GRAHAM, J. '"Ut Pictura Poesis". A Bibliography', Bulletin of Bibliography and Magazine Notes, Vol. XXIX, n°1, January-March 1972, pp.13-5, 18.

HAMMOND, W.A. A Bibliography of Aesthetics and of the Philosophy of Art from 1900, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged, New York, Russell and Russell, 1967, x-205. [First published by Longmans, Green & Co. in 1934.]

Internationale Bibliographie der Kunstwissenschaft, Berlin, B. Behrs Verlag, 1903-1918. [Fourteen vols. covering the period 1902-1916.]

JAULME, A., MONCEL, H. Le Mouvement symboliste. Etude bibliographique et iconographique, Paris, Editions des Bibliothèques Nationales, 1936, xix-256pp., 16 pl. hors-texte. [Excellent catalogue of an important

exhibition, 'Cinquantenaire du symbolisme', held in the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1936.7

Journal général de l'imprimerie et de la librairie, Paris, Au Cercle de la Librairie, de l'Imprimerie. /First appeared in 1810.7

KLAPP, O. Bibliographie der Französischen Literaturwissenschaft, Frankfurt, Vittorio Klostermann. /First appeared 1956.7

LANSON, G. Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne. 1500-1900, Paris, Hachette, 1909-1914, 5 vol. /Vol. 4, published in 1912, is entitled: Révolution et XIXe siècle. In 1921 appeared a new, revised and enlarged edition, containing a supplementary chapter on 20th century literature.7

LEBEL, G. 'Bibliographie des revues et périodiques d'art parus en France de 1746 à 1914', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome XXXVIII, Avril-Juin 1951, pp.5-64.

LUGT, F. Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques intéressant l'art ou la curiosité. 3e période, 1861-1900, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1964, 763pp.

Modern Language Association of America Bibliography. M.L.A. /First appeared in 1921.7

MONDA, M., MONTEL, F. Bibliographie des poètes maudits, Paris, Giraud-Badin, 1927, 2 vol. /Vol. I. Stéphane Mallarmé, 102pp. II. Arthur Rimbaud, 80pp.7

MONTEL, F. Bibliographie de Paul Verlaine, Paris, Giraud-Badin, 1924, 144pp.

MONTEL, F. See also, in this section, MONDA, M.

MUSTOXIDI, T.M. Histoire de l'esthétique française. 1700-1900, suivie d'une bibliographie générale de l'esthétique française des origines à 1914, Paris, Champion, 1920, 240pp.

PLACE, J.-M., VASSEUR, A. Revue et journaux littéraires des XIXe et XXe siècles, Paris, Editions de la "Chronique des lettres françaises", 1973, 350pp.

RANCOEUR, R. Bibliographie de la littérature française du moyen-âge à nos jours, Paris, A. Colin. [First appeared 1951.]

RAND, B. Bibliography of Philosophy, Psychology and Cognate Subjects, New York, Macmillan, 1905, xxiv-1192pp. [Vol. 3 of J.M. Baldwin's Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology, New York, Macmillan, 1901-1902. See in particular section V. 'Aesthetics'.]

Répertoire d'art et d'archéologie; dépouillement des périodiques et des catalogues de ventes, bibliographie des ouvrages d'art français et étrangers, Paris, Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie. [First appeared 1910.]

REWALD, J. The History of Impressionism, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1973, 673pp. [The standard history which first appeared in 1946. Indispensable bibliography, pp.608-53.]

REWALD, J. Post-Impressionism from Van Gogh to Gauguin, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1956, 614pp. [As in previous reference, indispensable bibliography, pp.551-602.]

Romanische Bibliographie. See, in this section, Zeitschrift...

ROY, G.R. 'A Bibliography of French Symbolism in English-Language Publications to 1910', Revue de littérature comparée, Tome 34, n°4, Octobre-Décembre 1960, pp.645-59.

TALVART, H., PLACE, J. Bibliographie des auteurs modernes de langue française (1801-1927), Paris, Editions de la "Chronique des lettres françaises", 1928-1970, 19 vol. [Volumes N-Z have still to appear.]

THIEME, H.P. Bibliographie de la littérature française de 1800 à 1930, Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1971, 2 vol. [First published in 1933 by Droz. See also, in this section, DREHER, S. and DREVERT, M.]

TOURNOUX, G.A. Bibliographie verlainienne (Préface par F. Piquet), Leipzig, E. Rowohlt, 1912, 172pp.

VINET, E. Bibliographie méthodique et raisonnée des beaux-arts, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1874-1877, 2 vol. [Only 2 of 4 intended volumes were published.]

Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature, University of Indiana. [First appeared 1952. The 1968 issue contains the proceedings of the important symposium on literary Impressionism, held in the University of Indiana. They are followed by: 'A Bibliography of Critical Writings Concerned with Literary Impressionism', compiled by U.W. [U. Weisstein?], pp.69-72.

The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies, Modern Humanities Research Association, Oxford Univ. Press. [First appeared 1930.]

Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, M. Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen. [First appeared in 1875. Became in 1960 Romanische Bibliographie. The issue covering the period 1968-69 appeared only in 1975.]

### B. PRIMARY SOURCES.

Given the considerable amount of poetry, literary and art history and criticism written by the authors studied in the preceding pages, the following bibliography is necessarily select and comprises the material felt to be of greatest relevance for our subject. I have not attempted to give a complete list of the writings of each author concerned but the notion of primary sources has been extended to include, in certain cases, material written after 1900, when the author in question had played a prominent part in 'la mêlée symboliste'. For example, Maclair's Mallarmé chez lui (1935) is included in this section. Entries are classified in the following order: complete works ('catalogue raisonné' in the case of painters); selected works; individual works (with manuscript reference where appropriate); criticism; correspondence. Open letters to reviews are included among the criticism.

ADAM, P. See, in this section, Petit bottin des lettres et des arts.

ADAM, P., FENEON, F. Petit glossaire pour servir à l'intelligence des auteurs décadents et symbolistes, Paris, Vanier, 1888, iv-99pp.

[For both works, Adam used the pseudonym of J. Plowert.]

ADAM, P. 'Les artistes indépendants', La Vogue, Tome II, n°7, 30 août 1886, pp.260-7.

ADAM, P. 'L'art symboliste', La Cravache, n°422, 23 mars 1889.

[Article inserted as a preface to G. Vanor's L'Art symboliste. See, in this section, VANOR, G.]

ADAM, P. 'Les frères de Goncourt', La Cravache, n°408, 15 décembre 1888.

ADAM, P. 'Les impressionnistes à l'exposition des indépendants', La Vie moderne, 10e année, n°15, 15 avril 1888, pp.228-9.

ADAM, P. 'Peintres impressionnistes', La Revue contemporaine, Tome IV, n°4, Avril 1888, pp.541-51.

ADAM, P. 'La presse et le symbolisme', Le Symboliste, 1ère année, n°1, 7-14 octobre 1886.

ADAM, P. 'Les primitifs en Lorraine', La Vogue, nouv.sér., Tome III, 1889, pp.264-84.

ADAM, P. 'Les salons de 1896', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tomes XV, Juin 1896, pp.449-70; XVI, Juillet 1896, pp.5-35.

ADAM, P. 'Le symbolisme', La Vogue, Tome II, n°12, 4 octobre 1886, pp.397-401.

AJALBERT, J. Paysages de femmes. Impressions, Paris, Vanier, 1887, s.p.

AJALBERT, J. Sur le vif, vers impressionnistes, Paris, Tresse et Stock, 1886, s.p.

AJALBERT, J. 'Neige à minuit', Le Chat noir, n°164, 28 février 1885, p.446.

AJALBERT, J. 'Pointe sèche', Le Chat noir, n°158, 17 janvier 1885, p.424.

AJALBERT, J. Mémoires en vrac. Au temps du symbolisme, 1880-1890, Paris, Albin Michel, 1938, 415pp.

AJALBERT, J. 'Le salon des impressionnistes', Revue moderne, 3e année, n°30, 20 juin 1886, pp.385-93.

ALBERT, M. 'Le salon de 1890 aux Champs-Élysées', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome III, Juin 1890, pp.449-69.

ALEXANDRE, A. Paul Gauguin. Sa vie et le sens de son oeuvre, Paris, Bernheim-Jeune, 1931, 277pp.

ALEXANDRE, A. 'Les arts français à l'âge critique: les salons de 1889 à 1900', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome XI, Mai 1934, pp.306-20.

ALIS, H. 'La décadence artistique', Revue moderne et naturaliste, 2e année, n°10, 1er juin 1879, pp.289-92.

ANTOINE, J. 'Dubois-Pillet'. See, in this section, PLUME, La (1c).

A(NTOINE), J. 'Exposition de la Galerie Georges Petit', Art et critique, 1ère année, n°5, 29 juin 1889, pp.75-7. [Monet - Rodin]

ANTOINE, J. 'Exposition retrospective de l'art français', Art et critique, 1ère année, n°17, 22 septembre 1889, pp.266-9; n°19, 5 octobre 1889, pp.298-300; n°21, 19 octobre 1889, pp.330-2.

ANTOINE, J. 'Galerie Petit: Exposition internationale', La Plume, Tome 1, n°43, 1er février 1891, p.61.

ANTOINE, J. 'Georges Seurat', La Revue indépendante, Tome 19, n°54, Avril 1891, pp.89-93.

ANTOINE, J. 'Impressionnistes et synthétistes', Art et critique, 1ère année, n°24, 9 novembre 1889, pp.369-71.

ANTOINE, J. 'Pavillon de la Ville de Paris. Exposition des artistes indépendants', La Plume, Tome 1, n°49, 1er mai 1891, pp.156-7.

ANTOINE, J. 'Le salon des Champs-Élysées', La Plume, Tome 1, n°51, 1er juin 1891, pp.189-91.

ARCHIVES MAUS. O., Fonds XX, Musée d'Art Moderne, Brussels.

AURIER, G.-A. Oeuvres posthumes (édition établie par R. de Gourmont), Paris, Mercure de France, 1893, 480pp.

AURIER, G.-A., 'Camille Pissarro', La Revue indépendante, Tome 14, n°41, Mars 1890, pp.503-15.

AURIER, G.-A. 'Chronique d'art', Le Moderniste illustré, 1ère année, n°18, 24 août 1889, pp.138-9. [On official art]

AURIER, G.-A. 'Claude Monet', Mercure de France, Tome 4, n°28, Avril 1892, pp.302-5.

AURIER, G.-A. 'Concurrence', Le Moderniste illustré, 1ère année, n°10, 27 juin 1889, p.74. [Volponi exhibition]

AURIER, G.-A. 'Deux expositions: Berthe Morisot. Deuxième exposition des peintres impressionnistes et symbolistes', Mercure de France, Tome 5, n°31, Juillet 1892, pp.259-63.

AURIER, G.-A. 'Eugène Carrière', Mercure de France, Tome 2, n°18, Juin 1891, pp.332-5.

AURIER, G.-A. 'Exposition Pissarro', Mercure de France, Tome 4, n°27, Mars 1892, p.283.

AURIER, G.-A. 'Henry de Groux', Mercure de France, Tome 3, n°22, Octobre 1891, pp.223-9.

AURIER, G.-A. 'Les isolés. Vincent van Gogh', Mercure de France, Tome 1, n°1, Janvier 1890, pp.24-9.

AURIER, G.-A. 'J.-F. Henner', Le Moderniste illustré, 1ère année, n°2, 13 avril 1889, p.10; n°3, 20 avril 1889, p.18.

AURIER, G.-A. 'Meissonier', La Revue indépendante, Tome 15, n°44, Juin 1890, pp.324-9.

AURIER, G.-A. 'Monticelli. Paul Gauguin', La Revue indépendante, Tome 18, n°53, Mars 1891, pp.418-22.

AURIER, G.-A. 'Paul Gauguin'. See, in this section, PLUME, La (1e).

AURIER, G.-A. 'Préface pour un livre de critique d'art', Mercure de France, Tome 6, n°36, Décembre 1892, pp.309-32.

AURIER, G.-A. 'Ratiocinations familières, et d'ailleurs vaines, à propos des trois salons de 1891', Mercure de France, Tome 3, n°19, Juillet 1891, pp.30-9.

AURIER, G.-A. 'Renoir', Mercure de France, Tome 3, n°20, Août 1891, pp.103-6.



AURIER, G.-A. 'Revanche', Le Moderniste illustré, 1ère année, n°14, 27 juillet 1889, pp.106-7. [On world-wide influence of French official art.]

AURIER, G.-A. 'Salon de 1889. La peinture', La Pléiade, 2e sér., n°2, 15 mai 1889, pp.57-63; n°4, Août 1889, pp.102-4. [An abridged version of this review appeared in Le Moderniste illustré, 1ère année, n°8, 25 mai 1889, p.61.]

AURIER, G.-A. 'Le symbolisme en peinture: Paul Gauguin', Mercure de France, Tome 2, n°15, Mars 1891, pp.155-65.

AURIER, G.-A. 'Les symbolistes', La Revue encyclopédique, Tome 2 n°32, 1er avril 1892, pp.475-87.

AURIER, G.-A. See also, in this section, LUC LE FLANEUR.

BALZAC, H. de. Etudes philosophiques et études analytiques, Paris, Furne, 1846, 622pp.

[Vol. XVI of the Oeuvres complètes, 1842-1848. For Séraphita, pp.208-33.]

BARTHELEMY, E. 'Etudes d'art religieux. La tradition du crucifiement en Orient', Mercure de France, Tome 5, n°32, Août 1892, pp.289-302.

BATTEUX, Abbé Ch. Les Beaux-arts réduits à un même principe, Paris, Durand, 1746, xiii-291pp.

BAUDELAIRE, Ch. Oeuvres complètes (texte établi et annoté par Y.G. Le Dantec. Edition révisée, complétée et présentée par C. Pichois), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1961, xxx-1878pp.

BEAUBOURG, M. 'Les indépendants. La mort de Dubois-Pillet et de Vincent van Gogh', La Revue indépendante, Tome 16, n°47, Septembre 1890, pp.391-402.

BEAUNIER, A. La Poésie nouvelle, Paris, Mercure de France, 1902, 400pp.

BENEDITE, L. Deux idéalistes: Gustave Moreau et E. Burne-Jones, Paris, Ollendorf, 1899, 74pp.

BERNARD, E. Souvenirs inédits sur l'artiste peintre Paul Gauguin et ses compagnons, lors de leur séjour à Pont-Aven et au Pouldu, Lorient, Impr. du Nouvelliste du Morbihan, 1941, 24pp.

BERNARD, E. 'Au Palais des Beaux-Arts. Notes sur la peinture', Le Moderniste illustré, 1ère année, n°14, 27 juillet 1889, pp.108-10.

BERNARD, E. 'Ce que c'est que l'art mystique', Mercure de France, Tome 13, n°61, Janvier 1895, pp.28-39.

BERNARD, E. 'Charles Baudelaire, critique d'art et esthéticien', Mercure de France, Tome 135, n°512, 16 octobre 1919, pp.577-600.

BERNARD, E. 'Documents pour l'histoire du symbolisme pictural en France', La Rénovation esthétique, Tome IV, n°20, Décembre 1906, pp.109-12.

BERNARD, E. 'Lettre ouverte à Camille Mauclair', Mercure de France, Tome 14, n°66, Juin 1895, pp.332-9.

BERNARD, E. 'Louis Anquetin', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome XI, Février 1934, pp.108-21.

BERNARD, E. 'Notes sur l'école dite de "Pont-Aven"', Mercure de France, Tome 48, n°168, Décembre 1903, pp.675-82.

BERNARD, E. 'Notes inédites d'Emile Bernard sur le symbolisme' in: Emile Bernard, 1868-1941, peintures, dessins, gravures, Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 12 avril - 12 juin 1967, pp.7-10.

BERNARD, E. 'Odilon Redon', L'Occident, Tome 5, n°30, Mai 1904, pp.223-34.

BERNARD, E. 'Paul Cézanne', Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui, Tome 8, n°387, 1890.

BERNARD, E. 'Puvis de Chavannes', L'Occident, Tome 4, n°25, Décembre 1903, pp.273-80.

BERNARD, E. 'Le symbolisme pictural, 1886-1936', Mercure de France, Tome 268, n°912, 15 juin 1936, pp.514-30.

BERNARD, E. 'Vincent van Gogh', Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui, Tome 8, n°390, 1890.

BERNARD, E. 'Vincent van Gogh', Mercure de France, Tome 7, n°40, Avril 1893, pp.324-31.

BERNARD, E. 'Vincent van Gogh'. See, in this section, PLUME, La (1f).

BERNARD, E. See, in this section, Lettres...à Odilon Redon.

BERNIER, R. 'Un poète impressionniste (Jean Ajalbert)', Revue moderne, 3e année, n°25, 20 janvier 1886, pp.7-14.

BERRICHON, P. 'Louis Anquetin'. See, in this section, PLUME, La (1k).

BINET, A. 'Le problème de l'audition colorée', Revue des deux mondes, LXIIe année, 3e pér., Tome CXIII, 1er octobre 1892, pp.586-614.

BLANC, Ch. Les Beaux-arts à l'exposition universelle de 1878, Paris, Renouard, 1878, 379pp.

BLANC, Ch. Grammaire des arts décoratifs, Paris, H. Loones, 1882, 495pp.

BLANC, Ch. Grammaire des arts du dessin, Paris, Renouard, 1867, 720pp.

BLANC, Ch. 'Une exposition extraordinaire. Les Fables de LaFontaine en peinture', Le Temps, 21e année, n°7353, 9 juin 1881.

BLANCHE, J.-E. Les Arts plastiques (Préface de M. Denis), Paris, Editions de France, 1931, 531pp.

BLANCHE, J.-E. Propos de peintre.III. De Gauguin à la Revue nègre, Paris, Editions Emile-Paul frères, 1928, 227pp.

BLOY, E. See, in this section, Lettres...à Emile Bernard.

BOURGES, E. See, in this section, Lettres...à Emile Bernard.

BOURGET, P. Essais de psychologie contemporaine. Baudelaire, M. Renan, Flaubert, M. Taine, Stendhal, Paris, A. Lemerre, 1885, viii-326pp.

BOURGET, P. 'Psychologie contemporaine. Notes et portraits. Charles Baudelaire', Nouvelle revue, Tome 13, n°2, 15 novembre 1881, pp.398-416.

BOUTIQUE, A. 'A propos du symbolisme', La Plume, Tome 2, n°43, 1er février 1891, p.58.

BOUYER, R. Le Paysage dans l'art, Paris, Aux Bureaux de "L'Artiste", 1894, 130pp.

BOUYER, R. 'Le bilan des deux salons', L'Ermitage, Tome 8, n°6, Juin 1894, pp.346-51.

BOUYER, R. 'Causons peinture...(Réponse à Monsieur Camille Mauclair, critique d'art au Mercure de France)', L'Ermitage, Tome 9, n°9, Septembre 1894, pp.186-90.

BOUYER, R. 'Chronique. Les arts', L'Ermitage, Tome 8, n°2, Février 1894, pp.119-20. [praises Monet and Renoir.]

BOUYER, R. 'Expositions d'Odilon Redon, Vignon, Grasset, Galland, G. de Feure, etc.', L'Ermitage, Tome 8, n°5, Mai 1894, pp.309-11.

BOUYER, R. 'Le paysage contemporain. III. L'influence de Manet (1860-1883). Claude Monet et le paysage impressionniste', Revue d'histoire contemporaine, IVe année, 2 mai 1891, pp.727-36.

BOUYER, R. 'Le salon de la Rose+Croix', L'Ermitage, Tome 8, n°5, Mai 1894, pp.308-9.

BOUYER, R. 'Sur le krach de l'art moderne', L'Ermitage, Tome 11, n°8, Août 1895, pp.78-86.

BRACQUEMOND, F. Du Dessin et de la couleur, Paris, Charpentier, 1885, xiv-281pp.

BRÜCKE, E.W.R.von. Principes scientifiques des beaux-arts, essais et fragments de théories, suivis de L'Optique de la peinture par H. Helmholtz, Paris, G. Baillière, 1878, 224pp.

BRUNETIERE, F. Essais sur la littérature contemporaine, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1892, 357pp.

BRUNETIERE, F. 'Charles Baudelaire', Revue des deux mondes, LVIIe année, 3e pér., Tome LXXXI, 1er juin 1887, pp.695-706.

BRUNETIERE, F., 'La critique scientifique', Revue des deux mondes, LVIIIe année, 3e pér., Tome LXXXVIII, 1er juillet 1888, pp.213-26.

BRUNETIERE, F. 'Les salons de Diderot', Revue des deux mondes, LVe année, 3e pér., Tome XXXIX, 15 mai 1880, pp.457-69.

BRUNETIERE, F. 'Symbolistes et décadents', Revue des deux mondes, LVIIIe année, 3e pér., Tome XC, 1er novembre 1888, pp.213-26.

BRUNETIERE, F. See also, in this section, PLUME, La (2).

BURTY, Ph. Maîtres et petits maîtres, Paris, Charpentier, 1877, 387pp.

BYVANCK, W.G.C. Un Hollandais à Paris en 1891, Paris, Perrin, 1892, s.p.

CANDIDE, 'De M. Degas', Le Voltaire, 15e année, n°5247, 19 novembre 1892.

CARLYLE, T. Sartor Resartus, London, Chapman & Hall, 1885, iv-288pp.

CARLYLE, T. 'Des symboles', Entretiens politiques et littéraires, Tome 1, n°1, 1er août 1890, pp.1-4. /This issue of the review is wrongly dated. The true date was 1 April 1890./

CARRIERE, E. Ecrits et lettres choisies, 6e édition, Paris, Mercure de France, 358pp.

CAZALIS, H. Henri Régnault, sa vie, son oeuvre, Paris, A. Lemerre, 1872, 210pp.

CEZANNE, P. Correspondance (recueillie, annotée et préfacée par J. Rewald), Paris, Grasset, 1937, 320pp.

CEZANNE, P. See, in this section, Lettres...à Emile Bernard.

CHAMPSAUR, F. Dinah Samuel, Paris, Ollendorf, 1882, iv-539pp.

CHENNEVIERES, Ph. de. Souvenirs d'un directeur des beaux-arts, Paris, Aux Bureaux de "L'Artiste", 1883-1889, 5 vol.

CHESNEAU, E. La Chimère, Paris, Charpentier, 1879, 354pp. [A novel based upon the painting of the same name by Gustave Moreau.]

CHESNEAU, E. Artistes anglais contemporains, Paris, Librairie de l'art, 1887, 71pp.

CHRISTOPHE, J. 'Albert Dubois-Pillet', La Cravache, n°395, 15 septembre 1888.

CHRISTOPHE, J. 'Georges Seurat'. See, in this section, PLUME, La (1a)

CHRISTOPHE, J. 'Maximilien Luce', La Cravache, n°387, 28 juillet 1888.

COMBARIEU, J. Les Rapports de la musique et de la poésie au point de vue de l'expression, Paris, Alcan, 1894, xxvii-423pp.

COURRIERE, B. de. 'Paraphrase au sujet de "César-Antechrist"' Mercur de France, Tome 12, n°58, Octobre 1894, pp.158-61.

COURSANGE, E. 'Charles Morice', La Plume, Tome 2, n°54, 15 juillet 1891, p.61.

COUSTURIER, E. 'L'avenir des exposition', Entretiens politiques et littéraires, Tome 3, n°16, 1er juillet 1891, pp.32-5.

C(OUTURAT), G. et J. 'Petites polémiques mensuelles. Feu M. G.-Albert Aurier', La Revue indépendante, Tome 26, n°75, Janvier 1893, pp.45-66.

CREMNITZ, M. 'Exposition de quelques peintres chez Le Baro de Boutteville', Essais d'art libre, Tome IV, Décembre 1893, pp.230-3.

CREVALIER, J. 'Les petits salons. Chez Le Baro de Boutteville', Le Soir, 27e année, n°9215, 13 novembre 1894.

D.D. Quelques notes d'art à propos de Puvis de Chavannes, Arras, Sueur-Charrvey, 1899, 26pp.

DARIEN, G. 'Maximilien Luce'. See, in this section, PLUME, La (1d).

DARZENS, R. 'Chronique multicolore: la presse d'avant-garde', Petite république française, n°5771, 31 janvier 1892.

DARZENS, R. 'Félicien Rops', Art et critique, 1ère année, n°9, 27 juillet 1889, pp.129-30.

DAUDET, A. Souvenirs d'un homme de lettres, Paris, C. Marpon et E. Flammarion, 1888, 262pp.

DAURELLE, J. 'Chez les jeunes peintres', L'Echo de Paris, 8e année, n°2779, 28 décembre 1891, p.2.

DEGAS, E. Lettres de Degas (recueillies et annotées par M. Guérin), Paris, Grasset, 1931, x-253pp.

DELABORDE, H. L'Académie des Beaux-Arts, depuis la fondation de l'Institut de France, Paris, Plon, Nourrit et Cie., 1891, 396pp.

DELACROIX, E. Journal (précédé d'une étude sur le maître par M. P. Fiat. Notes et éclaircissements par MM. P. Fiat et R. Piot), Paris, Plon, Nourrit et Cie., 1893-1895, 3 vol.

DELACROIX, E. Correspondance générale (publiée par A. Joubin), Paris, Plon, 1936-1938, 5 vol.

DELACROIX, E. Lettres de Eugène Delacroix (recueillies et publiées par M. Ph. Burty), Paris, Quintin, 1878, xx-391pp.

DELACROIX, E. Lettres inédites de Eugène Delacroix (recueillies et publiées par J.-J. Guiffrey), Paris, Pillet et Demoulin, 1877, 36pp.

DELAROCHE, A. 'Les annales du symbolisme', La Plume, Tome 2, n°41, 1er janvier 1891, pp.14-20.

DELAROCHE, A. 'D'un point de vue esthétique à propos du peintre Paul Gauguin', L'Ermitage, Tome 8, n°1, Janvier 1894, pp.35-9.

DELAROCHE, A. 'Notes bibliographiques: "La Musique et les lettres" par Stéphane Mallarmé', L'Ermitage, Tome 10, n°3, Mars 1895, pp.188-9.

DELIMA, J. [pseud. for Kahn? Fénéon?] 'A M. Stéphane Mallarmé', La Cravache, n°396, 22 septembre 1888.

DEMOLDER, E. Félicien Rops, Paris, Pincebourde, 1894, 25pp.

DEMOLDER, E. Trois contemporains. Henri de Brahelier, Constantin Meunier, Félicien Rops, Brussels, Deman, 1901, 125pp.

DEMOLDER, E. 'J.-K. Huysmans, critique d'art', Société nouvelle, 5e année, Tome 2, Octobre 1889, pp.421-41.

Paris,

DENIS, M. Journal / Editions du Vieux Colombier, 1957-1959, 3 vol.

DENIS, M. Théories, 1890-1910. Du Symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre classique, Paris, Bibliothèque de "L'Occident", viii-271pp.

DENIS, M. 'A propos de l'exposition d'A. Seguin chez le Baro de Boutteville', La Plume, Tome 6, n°141, 1er mars 1895, pp.118-9.

DENIS, M. 'Cézanne', L'Occident, Tome 12, n°70, Septembre 1907, pp. 118-33.

DENIS, M. 'Chronique de peinture', L'Ermitage, 17e année, Tome 2, n° 15, 15 décembre 1906, pp.321-6.



DENIS, M. 'Définition du néo-traditionnisme', Art et critique, 2e année, 23, 30 Août 1890. [repr. in Théories..., pp.1-13.]

DENIS, M. 'De Gauguin et de van Gogh au classicisme', L'Occident, Tome 15, n°90, Mai 1909, pp.187-202.

DENIS, M. 'L'époque du symbolisme', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome XI, Mars 1934, pp.165-79.

DENIS, M. 'L'influence de Paul Gauguin', L'Occident, Tome 4, n°23, Octobre 1903, pp.160-4. [article published under pseud. MAUD, P.]

DENIS, M. 'Notes d'art et d'esthétique. Le salon du Champ-de-Mars. L'exposition Renoir', La Revue blanche, Tome 2, n°9, Juin 1892, pp. 360-6. [article published under pseud. MAUD, P.]

DENIS, M. 'Notes sur l'exposition des indépendants', La Revue blanche, Tome 2, n°7, Avril 1892, pp.232-4. [article published under pseud. LOUIS, P.]

DENIS, M. 'Paul Sérusier', L'Occident, Tome 15, n°85, Décembre 1908, pp.278-80.

DENIS, M. 'Paul Sérusier, sa vie, son oeuvre'. See, in this section, SERUSIER, P. ABC de la peinture (1942).

DENIS, M. 'Préface de la IXe exposition des peintres impressionnistes et symbolistes' in: Théories..., pp.25-9.

DENIS, M. 'Préface'. See, in this section, BLANCHE, J.-E. Les Arts plastiques...

DESCHAMPS, G. 'La peinture contemporaine et l'antiquité', Revue bleue, Tome 48, n°5, 1er août 1891, pp.134-7.

DESCLOSEAUX, J. 'Les artistes indépendants', La Cravache, n°381, 9 juin 1888.

DESCLOSEAUX, J. 'Au concours pour le Prix de Rome', La Cravache, n°389, 4 août 1888.

DESTREE, J. L'Oeuvre lithographique de Odilon Redon, Brussels, Deman, s.d. [1891], 84pp.

DESTREE, J. 'Notes et silhouettes. Essai de critique esthétique. Odilon Redon', Société nouvelle, 6e année, Tome 2, Décembre 1891, pp.639-59.

DIDEROT, D. Oeuvres complètes (édition établie par J. Assézat et H. Tourniaux), Paris, Garnier frères, 1875-1877, 20 vol.

DIDEROT, D. Salons (ed. J. Seznec and J. Adhémar), 4 vols., Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1957-1967. [Vol. 1, 2nd. ed., 1975.]

DIDEROT, D. Sur l'art et les artistes (Présentation par J. Seznec), Paris, Hermann, 1967, 220pp.

DOLENT, J. Amoureux d'art, Paris, A. Lemerre, 1888, 242pp. [published under pseud. FOURNIER, A.]

DOLENT, J. 'Salon de 1885', Le Chat noir, n°174, 9 mai 1885, p.485.

DOLENT, J. 'Le salon de 1886', La Revue contemporaine, Tome IV, n°4, Avril 1886, pp.514-22.

DU BOS, J.-B. Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture, Paris, P.-J. Mariette, 1719, 2 vol.

DU CAMP, M. Souvenirs littéraires, Paris, Hachette, 1882-1883, 2 vol.

DUJARDIN, E. Mallarmé par un des siens, Paris, A. Messein, 1936, 236pp.

DUJARDIN, E. 'Aux XX et aux indépendants. Le cloisonnisme', La Revue indépendante, Tome 6, n°17, Mars 1888, pp.487-92.

DUJARDIN, E. 'Les premiers poètes du vers libre', Mercur de France, Tome 146, n°546, 15 mars 1921, pp.577-621.

DUMUR, L. 'G.-Albert Aurier et l'évolution idéaliste', Mercure de France, Tome 8, n°44, Août 1893, pp.289-97.

DURET, T. Critique d'avant-garde, Paris, Charpentier, 1885, 328pp.

DURET, T. Histoire d'Edouard Manet et de son oeuvre, Paris, Floury, 1902, 301pp.

DURET, T. Le Peintre Claude Monet (notice sur son oeuvre suivie du catalogue de ses tableaux), Paris, Charpentier, 1880, 15pp.

DURET, T. Les Peintres français en 1867, Paris, Dentu, 1867, 175pp.

DURET, T. Les Peintres impressionnistes, Claude Monet, Sisley, Paris, Heymann et Perois, 1878, 35pp.

DURET, T. 'L'art japonais. Les livres illustrés, les albums imprimés, Hokusai', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome XXVI, Août 1882, pp.113-31; Octobre 1882, pp.300-18.

DURET, T. 'Le salon. IV. Edouard Manet', L'Electeur libre, 2e année, n°64, 9 juin 1870, p.92.

DUVAUCHEL, L. Le Tourbier (moeurs picards), Paris, A. Savine, 1889, 314pp. [Of this novel, chapter five, 'Ave, Picardia, nutrix', was inspired by painting of the same name by Puvis de Chavannes. Long extracts appeared in La Cravache, n°397, 29 septembre 1888.]

EPHRUSSI, Ch. Albert Dürer et ses dessins, Paris, A. Quantin, 1882, xii-429pp.

EXPOSANT, Un. 'Le salon de 1888', La Revue indépendante, Tome 7, n°20, Juin 1888, pp.407-42.

'L'exposition Paul Gauguin', L'Art français, 7e année, n°343, 18 novembre 1893.

FARGUE, L.-P. 'Fréquentation d'art du moment', Essais d'art libre, Tome IV, Janvier 1894, pp.286-7.

FAVRE, L. La Musique des couleurs et les musiques de l'avenir, Paris, Schleicher frères, 1900, xiv-113pp.

FENEON, F. Oeuvres plus que complètes (édition établie par J. Halperin), Geneva, Droz, 1970, 2 vol.

FENEON, F. Les Impressionnistes en 1886, Paris, Publications de "La Vogue", 1886, 46pp. [A collection of articles which first appeared in La Vogue, Tome I, n°8, 13 juin 1886, pp.261-75; n°10, 28 juin 1886, pp.341-6; II, n°10, 20 septembre 1886, pp.359-60.

FENEON, F. See, in this section, Petit bottin... and ADAM, P. Petit glossaire...

FENEON, F. 'Les arts. Quelques impressionnistes', La Cravache, n°380, 2 juin 1888.

FENEON, F. 'Autre groupe impressionniste', La Cravache, n°437, 6 juillet 1889.

FENEON, F. 'Catalogue des 33', La Cravache, n°413, 19 janvier 1889.

FENEON, F. 'Certains', Art et critique, 1ère année, n°29, 14 décembre 1889, pp.453-55. [Review of Huysmans' work of the same name.]

FENEON, F. 'Une esthétique scientifique', La Cravache, n°430, 18 mai 1889.

FENEON, F. 'Gauguin. Dujardin', Le Chat noir, n°488, 23 mai 1891, p.1752.

FENEON, F. 'Gustave Kahn', Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui, Tome 8, n°360, 1890.

FENEON, F. 'Notes et notules. Le salon des arts libéraux', Entretiens politiques et littéraires, Tome 2, n°15, Juin 1891, pp.218-9.

FENEON, F. 'Notes sur I. Carrière', Le Chat noir, n°485, 2 mai 1891, p.1740.

FENEON, F. 'Paul Signac'. See, in this section', PLUME, La (1b).

FENEON, F. 'Poe et M. Mallarmé', La Cravache, n°396, 22 septembre 1888.

FENEON, F. 'Quelques peintres idéistes', Le Chat noir, n°505, 19 septembre 1891, pp.1820-22.

FENEON, F. 'Sur un visiteur au Musée du Luxembourg', Le Symboliste, 1ère année, n°2, 15-22 octobre 1886.

FENEON, F. 'Tableaux. Exposition de M. Claude Monet. 5e exposition de la Société des Artistes indépendants', La Vogue, nouv. sér., Tome III, 1889, pp.252-62.

FEVRE, H. 'L'exposition des impressionnistes', Revue de demain, Tome I, n°3-4, Mai-Juin 1886, pp.148-56.

Figures de Paris, Paris, Floury, 1901, 133pp.

FILIGER, Ch. 'Lettres de Charles Filiger à Alfred Jarry', Dossiers du Collège de Pataphysique, n°22-4, Octobre 1963, pp.7-18.

FLAT, P. Le Musée Gustave Moreau. L'Artiste; son oeuvre, son influence, Paris, Société d'Editions artistiques, 1899, 31pp.

FLAT, P. 'Le salon des Champs-Élysées', Revue de l'évolution, 2e année, 15 mai 1892, pp.305-8.

FLORISOONE, Ch. Conférences des Rosati picards, Cayeux-sur-mer, Impr. de Maison-Mabille, s.d. [1903], 23pp. [Lecture on Puvis de Chavannes, given on 29 October 1898.]

FONTAINAS, A. Dans la lignée de Baudelaire, Paris, Editions de "La Nouvelle revue critique", 1930, 256pp.

FONTAINAS, A. Histoire de la peinture française au XIXe siècle, 1801-1900, Paris, Mercure de France, 1906, 442pp.

revised edition of this catalogue is in preparation.7

GAUGUIN, P. Sculpture and Ceramics of Paul Gauguin (Introduction by C. Gray), Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1963, viii-330pp.

GAUGUIN, P. Oviri, écrits d'un sauvage (choisis et présentés par D. Guérin), Paris, Gallimard, 1974, 350pp.

GAUGUIN, P. Ancien culte mahori (reproduit intégralement d'après le manuscrit original conservé au Musée du Louvre et suivi d'une étude de R. Huyghe: 'La clef de "Noa-noa"'), Paris, P. Berès, 1951, 56-39pp. 7  
[Superb facsimile edition of Gauguin's 1892-93 Tahiti manuscript.]

GAUGUIN, P. Avant et après. Paris, G. Crès, 1923, 248pp. 7  
[The regular edition of Gauguin's 1903 manuscript, of which a superb facsimile was published in Leipzig, by K. Wolff, in 1918.]

GAUGUIN, P. Cahier pour Aline (fac-similé du manuscrit original, présenté par S. Damiron), Paris, Société des Amis de la Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université de Paris, 1963. 7  
[The manuscript dates from 1893.]

GAUGUIN, P. Noa-noa (édition établie sur le manuscrit initial retrouvé. Poèmes de Ch. Morice pour "Noa-noa". Préface, étude et notes de J. Loize), Paris, A. Balland, 1966, 225pp. 7  
[The first edition of Gauguin's own text, written in Paris, 1893-1894.]

GAUGUIN, P., MORICE, Ch. Noa-noa. Paris, Editions de "La Plume", s.d. 7  
[1901], 239pp. 7  
[Long extracts of this text were first published in La Revue blanche, Tome 14, n°105, 15 octobre 1897, pp.81-103; n°106, 1er novembre 1897, pp.166-90.]

GAUGUIN, P. Raconters de rapin, Paris, Falaize, 1951, 81pp. 7  
[1902.]

GAUGUIN, P. 'Armand Séguin', Mercure de France, Tome 13, n°62, Février 1895, pp.222-4.

GAUGUIN, P. 'Exposition de la libre esthétique', Essais d'art libre, Tome V, Février 1894, pp.30-2.

FONTAINAS, A. Mes souvenirs du symbolisme, Paris, Editions de "La Nouvelle revue critique", 1928, 221pp.

FONTAINAS, A. Rops, Paris. Alcan, 1925, 166pp.

FONTAINAS, A. 'L'art moderne', Mercure de France, Tome 29, n°109, Janvier 1899, pp.235-42. [criticizes Gauguin in favour of Puvis.]

FONTAINAS, A. 'Gustave Moreau', Mercure de France, Tome 34, n°124, Avril 1900, pp.176-83.

FONTAINE, A. Les Doctrines d'art en France, Paris, Laurens, 1909, iii-361pp.

FONTAINE, A. Essai sur le principe et les lois de la critique d'art, Paris, A. Fontemoing, 1903, 383pp.

FOURCAUD, L. 'Au salon. Scènes héroïques. I. M. Gustave Moreau', Le Gaulois, 12e année, 2e sér., n°281, 20 juin 1880.

FOURNIER, A. [pseud.] See, in this section, DOLENT, J.

FRANCE, A. La Vie littéraire, Paris, Calmann-Levy, 1889-1892, 4 vol.

FRANCE, A. 'Un aventurier poète. Arthur Rimbaud', L'Univers illustré, 34e année, n°1914, 28 novembre 1891, p.577.

FUINEL, Ch. Art et critique, Paris, Bibliothèque d'art de la critique, 1898, xvi-227pp.

GACHONS, J. des. 'L'art décoratif aux deux salons de 1895', L'Ermitage, Tome 10, n°6, Juin 1895, pp.321-38.

GASQUET, J. 'Stéphane Mallarmé', La Syrix, n°7, Juillet 1892, pp.178-80.

GAUGUIN, P. Gauguin (catalogue par G. Wildenstein, avec la collaboration de R. Cogniat) Paris, Les Beaux-Arts, 1964, x-285pp. [a new

revised edition of this catalogue is in preparation.7

GAUGUIN, P. Sculpture and Ceramics of Paul Gauguin (Introduction by C. Gray), Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1963, viii-330pp.

GAUGUIN, P. Oviri, écrits d'un sauvage (choisis et présentés par D. Guérin), Paris, Gallimard, 1974, 350pp.

GAUGUIN, P. Ancien culte mahori (reproduit intégralement d'après le manuscrit original conservé au Musée du Louvre et suivi d'une étude de R. Huyghe: 'La clef de "Noa-noa"'), Paris, P. Berès, 1951, 56-39pp. 7  
[Superb facsimile edition of Gauguin's 1892-93 Tahiti manuscript.]7

GAUGUIN, P. Avant et après. Paris, G. Crès, 1923, 248pp. 7  
[The regular edition of Gauguin's 1903 manuscript, of which a superb facsimile was published in Leipzig, by K. Wolff, in 1918.]7

GAUGUIN, P. Cahier pour Aline (fac-similé du manuscrit original, présenté par S. Damiron), Paris, Société des Amis de la Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université de Paris, 1963. 7  
[The manuscript dates from 1893.]7

GAUGUIN, P. Noa-noa (édition établie sur le manuscrit initial retrouvé. Poèmes de Ch. Morice pour "Noa-noa". Préface, étude et notes de J. Loize), Paris, A. Balland, 1966, 225pp. 7  
[The first edition of Gauguin's own text, written in Paris, 1893-1894.]7

GAUGUIN, P., MORICE, Ch. Noa-noa. Paris, Editions de "La Plume", s.d. 7  
[1901], 239pp. 7  
[Long extracts of this text were first published in La Revue blanche, Tome 14, n°105, 15 octobre 1897, pp.81-103; n°106, 1er novembre 1897, pp.166-90.]7

GAUGUIN, P. Raconters de rapin, Paris, Falaize, 1951, 81pp. 7  
[1902.]7

GAUGUIN, P. 'Armand Séguin', Mercure de France, Tome 13, n°62, Février 1895, pp.222-4.

GAUGUIN, P. 'Exposition de la libre esthétique', Essais d'art libre, Tome V, Février 1894, pp.30-2.



GAUGUIN, P. 'Huysmans et Redon', Les Nouvelles littéraires, n°1340, 7 mai 1953. [Extract, published by J. Loize, of an 1889 article.]

GAUGUIN, P. 'Natures mortes', Essais d'art libre, Tome IV, Janvier 1894, pp.273-5.

GAUGUIN, P. 'Notes sur l'art à l'exposition universelle', Le Moderniste illustré, 1ère année, n°11, 4 juillet 1889, pp.84-6; n°12, 11 juillet 1889, pp.90-1.

GAUGUIN, P. 'Notes synthétiques', Vers et prosa, Tome XXII, Juillet-Septembre 1910, pp.51-5. [written c.1886.]

GAUGUIN, P. 'Les peintres français à Berlin', Le Soir, 28e année, n° 9381, 1er mai 1895.

GAUGUIN, P. 'Qui trompe-t-on ici?', Le Moderniste illustré, 1ère année, n°22, 21 septembre 1889, pp.170-1.

GAUGUIN, P. 'Sous deux latitudes', Essais d'art libre, Tome V, Février 1894, pp.75-80.

GAUGUIN, P. Lettres à André Fontainas, Paris, Librairie de France, 1921, 31pp.

GAUGUIN, P. Lettres de Paul Gauguin à Emile Bernard, 1888-1891. Geneva, P. Cailler, 1954, 149pp.

GAUGUIN, P. See, in this section, Lettres...à Emile Bernard.

GAUGUIN, P. Lettres de Paul Gauguin à Georges Daniel de Monfreid (précédées d'un hommage par V. Ségalen), Paris, Plon, 1930, 206pp.

GAUGUIN, P. See, in this section, Lettres...à Otilon Redon.

GAUGUIN, P. Lettres de Gauguin à sa femme et à ses amis (recueillies, annotées et préfacées par M. Malingue), nouvelle édition revue et augmentée, Paris, Grasset, 1946, 349pp.

GAUGUIN, P. [Letters to O. Maus], Archives O. Maus, Fonds XX, Inventaires 5223-4-5. [See, in this section, ARCHIVES MAUS, O. For a list of other Gauguin letters published separately, see, in Section A, REWALD, J. Post-Impressionism... and in section D, DANIELSSON, B Gauguin in the South Seas.]

GAUTIER, T. 'Salon de 1865. VII. Peinture', Le Moniteur universel, n°190, 9 juillet 1865.

GAUTHIER-VILLARS, H. 'Le salon des indépendants', La Revue indépendante, Tome 19, n°54, Avril 1891, pp.107-13.

GEFFROY, G. Claude Monet, Paris, G. Crès, 1924, 2 vol.

GEFFROY, G. La Vie artistique, Paris, Dentu, 1892-1903, 8 vol.

GERMAIN, A. 'Le Désespoir de la chimère', La Plume, Tome 2, n°75, 1er juin 1892, p.244. [poem inspired by painting of the same name by A. Séon.]

GERMAIN, A. 'Alexandre Séon'. See, in this section, PLUME, La (1a).

GERMAIN, A. 'A travers les jurys des salons', Entretiens politiques et littéraires, Tome 2, n°15, Juin 1891, pp.206-9.

GERMAIN, A. 'Considérations esthétiques sur l'évolution picturale', L'Ermitage, Tome 2, n°7, Juillet 1891, pp.398-404.

GERMAIN, A. 'De la critique en art figuratif', Essais d'art libre, Tome II, Janvier 1893, pp.66-76.

GERMAIN, A. 'Du beau moral et du beau formel', L'Ermitage, Tome 10, n°4, Avril 1895, pp.193-7.

GERMAIN, A. 'Du symbolisme', Art et critique, 1ère année, n°19, 5 octobre 1889, pp.289-92.

GERMAIN, A. 'L'exposition des indépendants. Les néo-impressionnistes et leur théorie', Art et critique, 1ère année, n°16, 15 septembre 1889, pp.250-2.

GERMAIN, A. 'L'Idéal et l'idéalisme: salon de la Rose+Croix', L'Art et l'idée, n°3, Mars 1892, pp.176-80.

GERMAIN, A. 'Idéalisme et modernisme', Moniteur des arts, 36e année, n°2000, 29 janvier 1892, pp.32-3.

GERMAIN, A. 'Les mal connus. Alexandre Séon', La Plume, Tome 4, n°103, 1er août 1893, pp.336-40.

GERMAIN, A. 'M. Meissonnier et la peinture du genre', L'Ermitage, Tome 2, n°5, Mai 1891, pp.273-5.

GERMAIN, A. 'Le modernisme et le beau', La Plume, Tome 2, n°46, 15 mars 1891, pp.115-6.

GERMAIN, A. 'Le paysage décoratif', L'Ermitage, Tome 2, n°11, Novembre 1891, pp.641-5.

GERMAIN, A. 'Un peintre idéaliste-idéiste, Alexandre Séon (symbolisme des teintes)', L'Art et l'idée, n°2, Février 1892, pp.107-12.

GERMAIN, A. 'Pour le beau', Essais d'art libre, Tome III, Février-Mars 1893, pp.1-120.

GERMAIN, A. 'Puvis de Chavannes et son esthétique', L'Ermitage, Tome 2, n°3, Mars 1891, pp.140-4.

GERMAIN, A. 'Le symbolisme des teintes', Moniteur des arts, 36e année, n°2009, 1er avril 1892, pp.122-5.

GERMAIN, A. 'Théorie chromo-luminariste: exposé et critique', La Plume, Tome 2, n°57, 1er septembre 1891, pp.285-7.

GERMAIN, A. 'Théorie des déformateurs: exposé et réfutation', La Plume, Tome 2, n°57, 1er septembre 1891, pp.289-90.

GERMAIN, A. 'La vraie Renaissance', L'Ermitage, Tome 8, n°6, Juin 1894, pp.341-3.

GHIL, R. Légendes d'âmes et de sangs, Paris, Frinzine & Cie., 1885, 188pp.

GHIL, R. La Tradition de poésie scientifique, Paris, Société littéraire de France, 1920, 97pp.

GHIL, R. Traité du verbe (avec avant-dire de Stéphane Mallarmé), Paris, Giraud, 1886, 30pp.

GHIL, R. 'Sous mon cachet', La Basoche, 1ère année, 1885:

n°8, 13 juin: 'Une musique des vers', pp.281-2.

n°9, 13 juillet: 'Le symbole', pp.325-6.

n°10, 13 août: 'L'unité', pp.355-6.

n°11, 13 septembre: 'L'instrumentation', pp.378-81.

n°12, 13 octobre: 'Wagnérisme. L'oeuvre', pp.410-3.

GIDE, A. Journal, 1889-1939, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1941, 1356pp.

GIDE, A. Romans: récits et soties, oeuvres lyriques (Introduction par M. Nadeau, notices et bibliographie par Y. Danet et J.-J. Thierry), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1958, xxxviii-1615pp.

GIDE, A. see also, in this section, Lettres...à Odilon Redon.

GOURMONT, R. de. Le Livre des masques, portraits symbolistes, Paris, Mercure de France, 1896-1898, 2vol.

GOURMONT, R. de. Le Problème du style. Questions d'art, de littérature et de grammaire, Paris, Mercure de France, 1902, 282pp.

GOURMONT, R. de. Promenades littéraires, Paris, Mercure de France, 1904-1913, 5 vol.

GOURMONT, R. de. Promenades philosophiques, Paris, Mercure de France, 1905-1909, 3 vol.

GOURMONT, R. de. 'Autres et derniers salons', Mercure de France, Tome 5, n°30, Juin 1892, pp.166-9. /on both official and avant-garde salons./

GOURMONT, R. de. 'Les Goncourts critiques d'art', Mercure de France, Tome 8, n°42, Juin 1893, pp.176-8.

GOURMONT, R. de. 'Les livres: "Les Minutes de sable mémorial"', Mercure de France, Tome 12, n°58, Octobre 1894, pp.177-8.

GOURMONT, R. de. 'Les livres: "Salon de la Rose+Croix. Règles et monitoires"', Mercure de France, Tome 4, n°25, Janvier 1892, p.89.

GOURMONT, R. de. 'Notes sur G.-Albert Aurier', Mercure de France, Tome 6, n°36, Décembre 1892, pp.289-303.

GOURMONT, R. de. 'Les premiers salons', Mercure de France, Tome 5 n°29, Mai 1892, pp.60-6. [On Nabis and Rose+Croix.]

GOURMONT, R. de. 'La semaine littéraire', Petite république française, n°5746, 6 janvier 1892.

GOURMONT, R. de. 'Le symbolisme', La Revue blanche, Tome 2, n°9, Juin 1892, pp.321-5.

GOURMONT, R. de. 'Le symbolisme: définition de ce nouveau mouvement littéraire', L'Art et l'idée, n°8, Août 1892, pp.47-52.

GOURMONT, R. de. See also, in this section, AURIER, G.-A. Oeuvres posthumes and YMAGIER (L').

GUERIN, Ch. 'Salon des sécessionnistes à Munich', Mercure de France, Tomes 11, n°54, Juin 1894, pp.163-5; 12, n°57, Septembre 1894, pp.77-80.

GUIGOU, P. 'Puvis de Chavannes', La Revue du siècle, Tome 6, n°56, Janvier 1892, pp.1-17.

GUYOT, E. La Boussole de l'harmonie universelle, esthétique applicable aux arts des sons, de la couleur et de la forme, Albi, Impr. de Corbière et Julien, 1894, 143pp.

HALLER, G. Le Salon. Dix ans de peinture. Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1902, 2 vol.

HAMILTON, P.G. 'The Present State of the Fine Arts in France',  
Portfolio, Tome 13, 1891:

- January: '1. The Calm after Worn-out Controversies', pp.3-9.  
February: '2. The Observation of Contemporary Life', pp.34-41.  
March: '3. Various Effects of Modern Observation', pp.55-61.  
April: '4. Impressionism', pp.67-74.  
May: '5. The Survival of Classical Sentiment', pp.94-101.

HELMHOLTZ, H. L. F. von. Optique physiologique (Traduit par E. Javel  
et N. T. Klein), Paris, Masson et fils, 1867, xi-1059pp.

HENNEQUIN, E. La critique scientifique, Paris, Perrin, 1888, 247pp.  
[First published under the title, 'La critique scientifique des  
oeuvres d'art', in: La Revue contemporaine, Tomes IV, n°4, Avril 1886,  
pp.449-88; V, n°1, Mai 1886, pp.3-39.]

HENNEQUIN, E. 'Notes d'art', La Vie moderne, 8e année, 1886.  
n°9, 27 février: [Odilon Redon], pp.130-1.  
n°19, 8 mai: 'Le salon', pp.290-1.  
n°22, 29 mai: 'Le salon', pp.340-1.  
n°25, 19 juin: 'Les impressionnistes', pp.389-90.  
n°37, 11 septembre: 'Exposition des artistes indépendants', pp.  
581-2.

HENRY, Ch. Le Cercle chromatique. Paris, Verdin, 1888, 168pp.

HENRY, Ch. Etude sur le triangle harmonique, Paris, Gauthier-Villars,  
1881, 18pp.

HENRY, Ch. Harmonies de formes et de couleurs, Paris, Hermann, 1891,  
65pp.

HENRY, Ch. Introduction à une esthétique scientifique, Paris, La  
Revue contemporaine, 1885, 31pp.

HENRY, Ch. Le Rapporteur esthétique. Paris, G. Seguin, 1888, 31pp.  
[Long extracts of Henry's works frequently appeared in the symbolist  
reviews. See, for example, La Revue indépendante, Tome 7, n°18, Avril  
1888, pp.73-90; n°19, Mai 1888, pp.238-89; n°20, Juin 1888, pp.458-78]

and La Cravache, n°413, 19 janvier 1889; n°416, 9 février 1889; n°425, 13 avril 1889.<sup>7</sup>

HIRSCH, Ch. H. 'Notes sur l'impressionnisme et le symbolisme des peintres', La Revue blanche, Tome 2, n°5, Février 1892, pp.103-8.

HUMBERT DE SUPERVILLE, D.P.G. Essai sur les signes inconditionnels dans l'art, Leyde, Van der Hoek, 1827, s.p.

HURET, J. Enquête sur l'évolution littéraire, Paris, Charpentier, 1891, xxi-455pp.

HUYSMANS, J.-K. A Rebours, Paris, Charpentier, 1884, 294pp.

HUYSMANS, J.-K. L'Art moderne, Paris, Charpentier, 1883, 277pp.

HUYSMANS, J.-K. Certains, Paris, Tresse et Stock, 1889, 230pp.

HUYSMANS, J.-K. Croquis parisiens, Paris, H. Vaton, 1880, 110pp.

HUYSMANS, J.-K. 'Chronique d'art', La Revue indépendante, 1887:

Tome 3, n°6, Avril: 'Les indépendants', pp.51-7. [Praise for Redon, reserved praise for Neo-Impressionists.]

Tome 3, n°7, Mai: 'Le salon de 1887', pp.181-8.

Tome 3, n°8, Juin: 'Le salon de 1887. L'exposition internationale de la rue de Sèze', pp.345-55. [Criticizes Puvis in favour of Moreau. Praise for Monet.]

Tome 4, n°9, Juillet: 'L'exposition de Millet', pp.41-7.

[very reserved praise.]

Tome 5, n°12, Octobre: 'Le tableau de Bianchi au Louvre', pp. pp.15-20.

HUYSMANS, J.-K. 'Des peintres', La Cravache, n°387, 28 juillet 1888.

HUYSMANS, J.-K. 'Note sur Raffaelli', La Cravache, n°414, 26 janvier 1889.

HUYSMANS, J.-K. 'L'oeuvre érotique de Félicien Rops' in: Félicien Rops et son oeuvre, Brussels, Deman, 1897, pp.9-24.

HUYSMANS, J.-K. 'Paul Cézanne'. See, in this section, PLUME, La, (1h).

HUYSMANS, J.-K. 'Trois peintres. Cézanne, J.-J. Tissot, Wagner', La Cravache, n°389, 4 août 1888.

HUYSMANS, J.-K. See also, in this section, Lettres...à Odilon Redon.

IMBERT, H. Profils d'artistes contemporains, Paris, Fischbacher, 1897, 335pp.

J. G. 'Notes sur l'art. Claude Monet', La Cravache, n°383, 23 juin 1888.

JAMMES, F. See, in this section, Lettres...à Odilon Redon.

JARRY, A. Oeuvres complètes, Tome 1 (textes établis, présentés et annotés par M. Arrivé), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1972, 1317pp.

JARRY, A. Peintures, gravures et dessins de Alfred Jarry (Préface et commentaires par M. Arrivé), Paris, Collège de Pataphysique, 1968, 127pp.

JARRY, A. César-Antechrist, Paris, Mercure de France, 1895, 153pp.

JARRY, A. Gestes et opinions du docteur Faustroll, pataphysicien, roman néo-scientifique, suivi de Spéculations, Paris, Fasquelle, 1911, 324pp.

JARRY, A. Les Minutes de sable mémorial, Paris, Mercure de France, 1894, 215pp.

JARRY, A. La Revanche de la nuit, poèmes retrouvés (édition établie par M. Sallet), Paris, Mercure de France, 1949, 95pp.

JARRY, A. Le Temps dans l'art, Paris, Collège de Pataphysique, 1958, 16pp. [Lecture given at the Salon des indépendants of 1901.]

JARRY, A. 'De l'inutilité du théâtre au théâtre', Mercure de France.



Tome 19, n°81, Septembre 1896, pp.467-73.

JARRY, A. 'Filiger', Mercure de France, Tome 12, n°57, Septembre 1894, pp.73-7.

JARRY, A. 'Les indépendants', Essais d'art libre Tome V, Juillet 1894, pp.124-5.

JARRY, A. 'Minutes d'art', L'Art littéraire, nouv. sér., n°3-4, Mars-Avril 1894, pp.56-9; n°5-6, Mai-Juin 1894, pp.89-91.

JARRY, A. 'Minutes d'art', Essais d'art libre, Tome V, Février 1894, pp.40-2.

JARRY, A. See also, in this section, YMAGIER, L'

JEAN, A. 'Puvis de Chavannes', L'Art dans les deux mondes, n°2, 29 novembre 1890, pp.9-11.

JOUIN, H. Maîtres contemporains, Paris, Perrin, 1887, xii-307pp.

JOUIN, H. Vus de profil, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1899, 311pp.

JOURDAIN, F. Les Décorés, ceux qui ne le sont pas, Paris, H. Simonis Empis, 1895, xii-278pp.

JOURDAIN, F. 'Claude Monet. Exposition du boulevard Montmartre', La Revue indépendante, Tome 10, n°29, Mars 1889, pp.513-8.

JOURDAIN, F. 'Notes sur le peintre Emile Bernard', La Plume, Tome 4, n°106, 15 septembre 1893, pp.392-6.

KAHN, G. Chansons d'amant, Brussels, P. Lacomblez, 1891, 135pp.

KAHN, G. Les Palais nomades, Paris, Tresse et Stock, 1887, 173pp.

[Short extracts of Kahn's manuscript are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MSS.N.a.fr.15869.7

KAHN, G. Premiers poèmes, avec un préface sur le vers libre, Paris, Mercure de France, 1897, 339pp.

KAHN, G. 'L'Alcool', Revue moderne et naturaliste, 2e année, n°19, 1er décembre 1879, pp.644-5.

KAHN, G. Boucher, Paris, H. Laurens, 1905, 126pp.

KAHN, G. Fantini-Latour, Paris, Rieder et Cie., 1926, 62pp.

KAHN, G. Félicien Rops et son oeuvre, Paris, Librairie artistique et littéraire, s.d. [1907], 36pp.

KAHN, G. Préface: Les dessins de Georges Seurat, 1859-1891, Paris, Bernheim-Jeune, 1929, 16pp.

KAHN, G. Silhouettes littéraires, Paris, Editions Montaigne, 1925, 125pp.

KAHN, G. Symbolistes et décadents, Paris, Vanier, 1902, 404pp.

KAHN, G. 'Arthur Rimbaud', La Revue blanche, Tome 16, n°125, 15 août 1898, pp.592-601.

KAHN, G. 'Au temps du pointillisme', Mercure de France, Tome 171, n°619, 1er avril 1924, pp.5-22.

KAHN, G. 'Chronique', La Vogue, 1886-1889:

Tome I, n°2, 18 avril 1886: 'De l'esthétique du verre polychrome', pp.54-65.

Tome I, n°3, 25 avril 1886: [Gustave Moreau], pp.100-2.

Tome I, n°8, 13 juin 1886: 'Toiles annuelles', pp.276-81.

nouv. sér., Tome II, 1889: 'Livres sur le moi', pp.68-103.

nouv. sér., Tome II, 1889: 'L'art français à l'exposition', pp.117-40.

nouv. sér., Tome II, 1889: 'Livres de vers', pp.140-9.

nouv. sér., Tome III, 1889: 'Les peintres étrangers à l'exposition', pp.213-31.

KAHN, G. 'Chronique de la littérature et de l'art', La Revue indépendante, 1888:

Tome 6, n°15, Janvier: 'Musique', pp.138-42.

'Exposition Puvis de Chavannes', pp.142-6.

'L'exposition des 33', pp.146-51.

Tome 6, n°16, Février: 'Paul Verlaine par J. Lemaitre', pp.287-93.

Tome 7, n°18, Avril: 'Maurice Bouchor: Les Symboles', pp.155-7.  
'Peinture: exposition des indépendants', pp.160-4.

Tome 7, n°19, Mai: 'Amour', pp.344-51. [Review of Verlaine] 7  
'Les peintres de la vie', p.362.

Tome 7, n°20, Juin: 'Le journal des Goncourts', pp.523-5.  
'Exposition des impressionnistes', pp.544-6.

Tome 8, n°22, Août: 'L'exposition Luce', pp.315-6.

Tome 9, n°24, Octobre: 'Les poètes maudits', pp.119-28.

Tome 9, n°26, Décembre: 'A M. Brunetière', pp.481-6.

KAHN, G. 'Exposition d'oeuvres de Gustave Moreau et de quelques-uns de ses élèves (Galerie Georges Petit)', Le Quotidien, 4e année, n°1161, 16 avril 1926, p.4.

KAHN, G. 'Paul Gauguin', L'Art et les artistes, nouv.sér., Tome 12, n°61, Novembre 1925, pp.37-64.

KAHN, G. 'Réponse des symbolistes', L'Evénement, 15 année, n°5301, 28 septembre 1886.

KAHN, G. 'Roger Marx', Mercur de France, Tome 28, n°106, Octobre 1898, pp.43-52.

KAHN, G. 'Seurat', L'Art moderne [Brussels] 7, 11e année, n°15, 15 avril 1891, pp.107-10.

KAHN, G. 'La vie artistique: salon des indépendants', La Vie moderne, 9e année, n°15, 9 avril 1887, pp.229-31.

KAHN, G. 'Lettre', La Cravache, n°429, 11 mai 1889. [To G. Lecomte.] 7

KRYSINKA, M. Rythmes pittoresques, Paris, A. Lemerre, 1890, xi-124pp.

LAFENESTRE, G. La Peinture française à l'exposition universelle, Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1890, 64pp.

LAFENESTRE, G. 'Le salon de 1888', Revue des deux mondes, LVIII<sup>e</sup> année, 3<sup>e</sup> pér., Tome LXXXVII, 1<sup>er</sup> juin 1888, pp.640-73.

LAFORGUE, J. Oeuvres complètes, Paris, Mercure de France, 1902-1903, 3 vol.

LAFORGUE, J. 'A propos de toiles, çà et là', Le Symboliste, 1<sup>ère</sup> année, n°4, 30 octobre - 6 novembre 1886.

LAFORGUE, J. 'Notes d'esthétique', La Revue blanche, Tome 11, n°84 1<sup>er</sup> décembre 1896, pp.481-8.

LAFORGUE, J. Lettres à un ami, 1880-1886 (Introduction et notes de G. Jean-Aubry), Paris, Mercure de France, 1941, 237pp.

LAFORGUE, J. 'Quatre lettres inédites de Laforgue', La Cravache, n°394, 8 septembre 1888.

LANGI, A. 'Le symbolisme et l'instrumentation poétique', Ecrits pour Tome I, n°4, 7 avril 1887, pp.60-1.

LARMANDIE, L. de. Eðraka. Notes sur l'ésotérisme (Préface du Sâr Péladan), Paris, Chamuel, 1891, 194pp.

LARMANDIE, L. de. L'Entr'acte idéal. Histoire de la Rose+Croix, Paris, Chacornac, 1903, 176pp.

LARROUMET, G. 'Le symbolisme de Gustave Moreau', La Revue de Paris, 2<sup>e</sup> année, n°18, 15 septembre 1895, pp.408-39.

LASSERRE, P. 'Léonard de Vinci, artiste et savant', Revue bleue, Tome 52, n°1, 1<sup>er</sup> juillet 1893, pp.11-6.

LAZARE, B. Figures contemporains, ceux d'aujourd'hui, ceux de demain, Paris, Perrin 1895, xv-282pp.

LE CARDONNEL, L. 'Impressions de pluie', Le Chat noir, n°47,  
2 décembre 1882, p.2.

LE CARDONNEL, L. 'Mysticisme', Le Chat noir, n°101, 15 décembre 1883,  
p.193.

LECLERCQ, J. 'Albert Aurier', Essais d'art libre, Tome II, Novembre  
1892, pp.201-9.

LECLERCQ, J. 'Aux indépendants', Mercure de France, Tome 2, n°17,  
Mai 1891, pp.298-9.

LECLERCQ, J. 'Exposition Paul Gauguin', Mercure de France, Tome 13,  
n°61, Janvier 1895, pp.121-2.

LECLERCQ, J. 'La lutte pour les peintres', Mercure de France, Tome  
12, n°59, Novembre 1894, pp.254-71.

LECLERCQ, J. 'Sur la peinture (de Bruxelles à Paris)', Mercure de  
France, Tome 11, n°53, Mai 1894, pp.71-7.

LECOMTE, G. L'Art impressionniste (d'après la collection privée de  
M. Durand-Ruel), Paris, Impr. de Chamerot et Renouard, 1892, 272pp.

LECOMTE, G. 'L'art contemporain', La Revue indépendante, Tome 23, n°  
66, Avril 1892, pp.1-29.

LECOMTE, G. 'L'art symboliste', La Cravache, n°428, 3 mai 1889

LECOMTE, G. 'Camille Pissarro', Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui, Tome 8,  
n°366, 1890.

LECOMTE, G. 'Camille Pissarro'. See, in this section, PLUME, La (1j).

LECOMTE, G. 'L'estopsychologie', La Cravache, n°395, 15 septembre 1888.

LECOMTE, G. 'Les Goncourts critiques d'art', Revue de Paris, 1ère  
année, n°11, 1 juillet 1894, pp.201-24.

LECOMTE, G. 'L'impressionnisme', Revue de l'évolution, 2e année, n°27, 1er avril 1892, pp.213-7.

LECOMTE, G. 'Japon', Entretiens politiques et littéraires, Tome 1, n°3, 1er juin 1890, pp.90-4.

LECOMTE, G. 'La littérature de tout à l'heure', La Cravache, n°434, 15 juin 1889.

LECOMTE, G. 'Monsieur Degas', Revue de l'évolution, 2e année, n°24, 15 février 1892, pp.110-3.

LECOMTE, G. 'La renaissance idéaliste', Revue de l'évolution, 2e année, n°26, 15 mars 1892, pp.169-73.

LECOMTE, G. 'Renoir', Art et critique, 4e année, n°8, 16 janvier 1892, pp.12-3.

LECOMTE, G. 'Le salon des indépendants', L'Art dans les deux mondes, n°19, 28 mars 1891, p.225.

LEMAISTRE, A. L'Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1889, vi-407pp.

LEMAITRE, J. Les Contemporains, études et portraits littéraires, Paris, H. Lecène et H. Oudin, 1886-1899, 7 vol.

LEMAITRE, J. 'M. Paul Verlaine et les poètes "symbolistes" et "décadents"', Revue bleue, 2e sér., Tome 51, n°1, 7 janvier 1888, pp.2-14.

LEMONNIER, C. Les Peintres de la vie, Paris, A. Savine, 1888, 315pp.

LEMONNIER, C. 'Les peintres flamands à Munich', La Revue indépendante, Tome 6, n°16, Février 1888, pp.200-27.

LEONARDO DA VINCI, Paragone, a Comparison of the Arts, (Introduction and translation by I.A. Richter), Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1949, xiii-112pp.

LEPRIEUR, P. Gustave Moreau et son oeuvre, Paris, Aux Bureaux de "L'Artiste", 1889, 54pp.

LEPRIEUR, P. La Peinture au salon de 1888, Paris, Aux Bureaux de "L'Artiste", 1888, 48pp.

LESSING, G.E. Du Laocoon, ou des limites respectives de la poésie et de la peinture (Traduit par C. Vanderbourg), Paris, Renouard, 1802, xvi-384pp.

Lettres de Gauguin, Gide, Huysmans, Jammes, Mallarmé, Verhaeren...à Odilon Redon, Paris, José Corti, 1960, 317pp. [The volume also contains letters from the Nabis, in particular from Emile Bernard (11 letters) and from H. de Régnier.]

Lettres de Vincent van Gogh, Paul Gauguin, Paul Cézanne, J.-K. Huysmans, Léon Bloy, Elémir Bourges, Milos Marten, Odilon Redon, Maurice Barrès à Emile Bernard, Tonnerre, Impr. des Editions de "La Rénovation esthétique", 1926, 196pp.

LORRAIN, J. Modernités, Paris, Giraud, 1885, 124pp.

LORRAIN, J. 'Salomé', Le Chat noir, n°151, 29 décembre 1884, p.396.

LORRAIN, J. 'Salomé', La Cravache, n°382, 6 juin 1888.

LORRAIN, J. Sensations et souvenirs, Paris, Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1895, 322pp.

LORRAIN, 'Un étrange jongleur', L'Echo de Paris, 11e année, n°3606, 10 avril 1894. [On Redon.]

LOUIS, P. 'Notes sur l'exposition des indépendants', See, in this section, DENIS, M.

LUC LE FLANEUR. [pseud. for G.-A. Aurier?] 'En quête de choses d'art', Le Moderniste illustré, 1ère année, n°2, p.14; n°7, p.55.

MAETERLINCK, M. Serres chaudes, nouvelle édition, Brussels, P. Lacomblez, 1890, 101pp.

MAETERLINCK, M. 'A propos de Solness le constructeur', Le Figaro, 3 sér., n°92, 2 avril 1894, p.1.

MAGNARD, A. 'La synthèse des arts', La Revue de Paris, 1ère année, n°16, 15 septembre 1894, pp.424-42.

MAILLARD, L. 'Schuffenecker'. See, in this section, PLUME, La, (1m).

MALLARME, S. Oeuvres complètes (texte établi et annoté par H. Mondor et G. Jean-Aubry), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1945, xxvii-1659pp.

MALLARME, S. Documents iconographiques (avec une préface et des notes par H. Mondor), Geneva, P. Cailler, 1947, 253pp.

MALLARME, S. Documents Stéphane Mallarmé (présentés par C.P. Barbier), Paris, Nizet, 1968-1973, 4 vol. [A fifth volume, a much-needed critical edition of Mallarmé's Poésies, is in preparation.]

MALLARME, S. L'Après-midi d'un faune, Paris, A. Derenne, 1876, 14pp. [The manuscript of this version has never been found.]

MALLARME, S. L'Après-midi d'un faune, (édition définitive), Paris, A "La Revue indépendante", 1887, 12pp.

MALLARME, S. Le Corbeau. The Raven, poème par Edgar Poe, traduction française de Stéphane Mallarmé, avec illustrations par Edouard Manet; Paris, R. Lesclide, 1875, s.p.

MALLARME, S. 'Improvisation d'un faune'. [An earlier manuscript version of L'Après-midi..., copied in 1875 for publication in the Troisième Parnasse contemporain. Now in the Bibliothèque Martin Bodmer, Coligny, Geneva.]

MALLARME, S. 'Monologue d'un faune'. [The Burty manuscript, copied in 1873-74; the only known manuscript of the original stage version of L'Après-midi..., written in June 1865. Now in the Fonds Mallarmé, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris, MNR. Ms.1161.]



MALLARME, S. ['Réveil du faune'], Empreintes, [Brussels], n°5, Novembre-Décembre 1948, pp.12-3. [An 18-line fragment of a monologue, written in 1865 and intended as a conclusion of 'Monologue d'un faune'.<sup>7</sup>

MALLARME, S. Autobiographie. Lettre à Verlaine (avant-dire du Dr. E. Bonniot), Paris, A. Messein, 1924, fac-sim.

MALLARME, S. Les "Gossips" de Mallarmé: "Athénæum" 1875-1876 (textes inédits présentés et annotés par H. Mondor et L.J. Austin), Paris, Gallimard, 1962, 125pp.

MALLARME, S. Propos sur la poésie (recueillis et présentés par H. Mondor), édition revue et augmentée, Monaco, Editions du Rocher, 1953, 235pp.

MALLARME, S. 'Avant-dire'. See, in this section, GHIL, R. Traité du verbe.

MALLARME, S. 'The Impressionists and Edouard Manet', Art Monthly Review [London], Vol.I, n°9, 30 September 1876, pp.117-22. [The French original of this article has never been found. An abridged re-translation into French has been published by M. Barthelme in: Nouvelle revue française, Tome 14, n°80, 1er août 1959, pp.375-84, while the first complete re-translation was published by Ph. Verdier in: Gazette des beaux-arts, Novembre 1975, pp.147-56.<sup>7</sup>

MALLARME, S. 'Le jury de peinture et M. Manet', La Renaissance artistique et littéraire, 3e année, n°13, 12 avril 1874, pp.155-7.

MALLARME, S. 'Richard Wagner. Rêverie d'un poète français', Revue wagnérienne, Tome I, n°VII, 8 août 1885, pp.195-200.

MALLARME, S. 'Le "Ten o'Clock" de M. Whistler', La Revue indépendante Tome 7, n°19, Mai 1888, pp.205-27.

MALLARME, S. [Toast to Gauguin], Mercur de France, Tome 2, n°17, Mai 1891, p.318.

MALLARME, S. Correspondance Tome I 1862-1871 (recueillie, classée et

annotée par H. Mondor avec la collaboration de J.-P. Richard), Paris, Gallimard, 1959, 383pp.

MALLARME, S. Correspondance Tomes II 1871-1885; III 1886-1889; IV. 1890-1891 (recueillie, classée et annotée par H. Mondor et L.J. Austin), Paris, Gallimard, 4 vol. [The continuation of the previous note. Volume II was published in 1965, III, in 1969 and IV in 1973. Volume IV is in two parts, the second of which contains an important supplement to Volumes I-III.]

MALLARME, S. Correspondance Mallarmé-Whistler. Histoire de la grande amitié de leurs dernières années (présentée par C.P. Barbier), Paris, Nizet, 1964, xii-308pp.

MALLARME, S. See, in this section, Lettres...à Odilon Redon. [Important additional elements of Mallarmé's correspondence are contained in the Documents...]

MANET, E. Edouard Manet (Catalogue raisonné par D. Rouart et D. Wildenstein), Paris, la Bibliothèque des arts, 1975, 2 vol.

MANET, E. Manet raconté par lui-même, Geneva, P. Cailler, 1945, 251pp.

MANTZ, P. 'Le salon', Le Temps, 21e année, n°7332, 22 mai 1881.

MARGUERITE, P. 'L'album japonais' <sup>Le Scapin,</sup> [2e sér., n°8, 12 décembre 1886, pp.217-9.

MARGUILLIER, A. Charles Ephrussi, Paris, Impr. de la "Gazette des beaux-arts", s.d. [1905], 8pp.

MARTEN, M. See, in this section, Lettres...à Emile Bernard.

MARX, R. Etudes sur l'école française, Paris, "Gazette des Beaux-arts", 1903, 86pp.

MARX, R. Maîtres d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, 2e édition, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1914, 342pp.

MARX, R. 'L'art décoratif', Le Voltaire, 15<sup>e</sup> année, n°5021, 5 Avril 1892.

MARX, R. 'L'art décoratif et les "symbolistes"', Le Voltaire, 15<sup>e</sup> année, n°5161, 23 août 1892.

MARX, R. 'Berthe Morisot', La Revue encyclopédique, Tome 6, n°136, 11 avril 1896, pp.247-50.

MARX, R. 'Les indépendants', Le Voltaire, 16<sup>e</sup> année, n°5371, 28 mars 1893.

MARX, R. 'Le Japon et l'art moderne', Le Voltaire, 15<sup>e</sup> année, n°5035, 19 avril 1892.

MARX, R. 'Jean-François Millet', Le Voltaire, 15<sup>e</sup> année, n°5189, 20 septembre 1892.

MARX, R. 'Paul Gauguin', Le Voltaire, 14<sup>e</sup> année, n°4612, 20 février 1891.

MARX, R. 'Renoir', Le Voltaire, 15<sup>e</sup> année, n°5042, 26 avril 1892.

MARX, R. 'Le salon de 1892', Le Voltaire, 15<sup>e</sup> année, n°5048, 1<sup>er</sup> mai 1892; n°5054, 7 mai 1892.

MAUCLAIR, C. Albert Besnard, l'homme et l'oeuvre, Paris, Delagrave, 1918, i-189pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. L'Art en silence, Paris, Ollendorf, 1901, vii-340pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. L'Art indépendant sous la Troisième République, Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1919, xv-170pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. La Beauté des formes, Paris, Lib. Universelle, 1909, 331pp

MAUCLAIR, C. De Watteau à Whistler, Paris, Fasquelle, 1905, iv-338pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. Eleusis, causeries sur la cité intérieure, Paris, Perrin, 1894, xii-273pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. Les Etats de la peinture française de 1850 à 1920, Paris, Payot, 1921, 159pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. Fragonard, biographie critique, Paris, H. Laurens, 1904, 128pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. Henri le Sidaner, Paris, Floury, 1928, 264pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. Idées vivantes, Paris, Lib. de l'Art ancien et moderne, 1904, x-310pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. L'Impressionnisme, son histoire, son esthétique, ses maîtres, Paris, Lib. de l'Art ancien et moderne, 1904, 238pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. Jules Laforgue, Paris, Mercure de France, 1896, xv-103pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. Léonard de Vinci, Paris, Nilsson, s.d., 141pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. Mallarmé chez lui, Paris, Grasset, 1935, 189pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. Puvis de Chavannes, Paris, Plon, 1928, 175pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. Servitude et grandeur littéraires, Paris, Ollendorf, 1922, 256pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. Un Siècle de peinture française, Paris, Payot, 1930, 211pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. Trois crises de l'art actuel, Paris, Fasquelle, 1906, xiii-326pp.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Albert Besnard et le symbolisme concret', La Revue indépendante, Tome 21, n°60, Octobre 1891, pp.7-30.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Armand Point', Mercure de France, Tome 9, n°48, Décembre 1893, pp.331-6.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Choses d'art', Mercure de France, 1894-1896:

Tome 12, n°59, Novembre 1894, pp.284-6. [praises Puvis, attacks Gauguin.]

Tome 13, n°61, Janvier 1895, pp.118-21. [praises Manet.]

Tome 14, n°66, Juin 1895, pp.357-9. [praises Monet, attacks Gauguin.]

Tome 17, n°73, Janvier 1896, p.130. [attacks Gauguin.]

Tome 17, n°75, Mars 1896, pp.418-20. [attacks Nabis.]

Tome 18, n°77, Mai 1896, pp.315-6. [attacks Gauguin.]

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Exposition Camille Pissarro chez Durand-Ruel', Mercure de France, Tome 10, n°52, Avril 1894, pp.377-9.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'L'exposition Claude Monet', La Revue indépendante, Tome 19, n°55, Mai 1891, pp.267-9.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Exposition Odilon Redon', Mercure de France, Tome 11, n°53, Mai 1894, pp.94-5.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Formation de l'école française', La Revue et revue des revues, IIIe sér., n°1, 1er janvier 1901, pp.24-35; n°2, 15 janvier 1901, pp.159-70.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Lettre sur la peinture' (à Monsieur Raymond Bouyer, critique d'art à l'Ermitage), Mercure de France, Tome 11, n°55, Juillet 1894, pp.270-5.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Notes sur l'idée pure', Mercure de France, Tome 6, n°33, Septembre 1892, pp.42-6.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Puvis de Chavannes, (1824-1898)', Nouvelle revue, Tome 118, n°4, 15 juin 1899, pp.661-73.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Quelques peintres idéalistes français', L'Art décoratif, 3e année, n°36, Septembre 1901, pp.223-34.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Réponse à M. Emile Bernard', Mercure de France, Tome 15, n°67, Juillet 1895, pp.91-6.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Le salon du Champ-de-Mars', La Revue indépendante, Tome 23, n°67, Mai 1892, pp.193-208.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Les salons de 1894', Mercure de France, Tome 11, n°54, Juin 1894, pp.157-62.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Souvenirs sur le mouvement symboliste en France (1884-1897)', Nouvelle revue, Tome 108, n°4, 15 octobre 1897, pp.670-93.

MAUCLAIR, C. 'Sur la peinture dite littéraire', L'Eventail [Brussels], Tome 40, n°7, 18 décembre 1927, p.5.

MAUD, P. 'L'influence de Paul Gauguin'. See, in this section, DENIS, M.

MAURRAS, Ch. 'Etude biographique. Arthur Rimbaud', La Revue encyclopédique, Tome 2, n°26, 1er janvier 1892, pp.7-13.

MAURRAS, Ch. 'Les jeunes revues. Histoire de dix ans', Revue bleue, 3e sér., Tome 52, n°27, 30 décembre 1893, pp.848-51; 4e sér., Tome 1, n°2, 13 janvier 1894, pp.52-4; n°4, 27 janvier 1894, pp.117-20.

MAUS, M.O. Trente années de lutte pour l'art, 1884-1914, Brussels, L'Oiseau bleu, 1926, 511pp.

MAUS, O. See, in this section, ARCHIVES MAUS, O.

MAUS, O. 'Le salon des XX à Bruxelles. VIe exposition annuelle', La Cravache, n°417, 16 février 1889; n°419, 2 mars 1889.

MAZEL, H. 'Les Alyseans', L'Ermitage, Tome 8, n°4, Avril 1894, pp. 211-3. [Based on the painting of the same name by Gauguin.]

MAZEL, H. Aux beaux temps du symbolisme, 1890-1895, Paris, Mercure de France, 1943, 199pp.

MAZEL, H. 'Tendances religieuses de l'art contemporain', L'Art, Tome LI, 1er août 1891, pp.45-56.

MEISSONIER, J.-L.-E. (Mme.) Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, ses sou-

venirs, ses entretiens (rédigés par Mme. Meissonier, précédés d'une étude sur sa vie et son oeuvre par M. O. Greard), Paris, Hachette, 1897, 467pp.

MELLERIO, A. L'Exposition de 1900 et l'impressionnisme, Paris, Floury, 1900, 46pp.

MELLERIO, A. Le Mouvement idéaliste en peinture, Paris, Floury, 1896, 75pp.

MELLERIO, A. Odilon Redon, Paris, Société pour l'Etude de la Gravure Française, 1913, 169pp.

MERKI, Ch. 'Apologie pour la peinture', Mercure de France, Tome 8, n°42, Juin 1893, pp.139-53.

MERRILL, S. Les Fastes, Paris, Vanier, 1891, 73pp.

MERRILL, S. Les Gammes, Paris, Vanier 1887, 61pp.

MERRILL, S. 'La Mystérieuse chanson' (à Armand Point), La Plume, Tome 6, n°158, 15 novembre 1895, pp.504-5.

MERRILL, S. 'Le rapport de M. Catulle Mendès sur le mouvement poétique français de 1867 à 1900', La Plume, Tome 16, n°342, 15 juillet 1903, pp.37-50.

MERRILL, S. 'Souvenirs sur le symbolisme', La Plume, Tomes 16, n°352, 15 décembre 1903, pp.613-24; 17, n°354, 1er janvier 1904, pp.2-11; n°356, 1er février 1904, pp.107-15.

METENIER, O. See, in this section, Petit bottin...

MEYERSON, E. Les Travaux de M. Charles Henry sur une théorie mathématique de l'expression, Paris, A. Colin, 1890, 5pp.

MICHEL, A. Notes sur l'art moderne, Paris, A. Colin, 1896, 297pp.

MICHEL, A. 'Exposition de M. Puvis de Chavannes', Gazette des beaux-

arts, Tome XXXVII, 1er janvier 1888, pp.36-44.

MICHELET, E. De l'Esotérisme dans l'art. Notes d'esthétique occulte, Paris, G. Carré, 1890, 27pp.

MICHELET, E. 'Au salon du Champ-de-Mars', La Revue indépendante, Tome 19, n°56, Juin 1891, pp.341-58.

MICHELET, E. 'L'exposition de Maxime Maufra', Essais d'art libre, Tome IV, Janvier 1894, pp.282-6.

MIRBEAU, O. Des Artistes, Paris, Flammarion, 1922-1924, 2 vol.

MIRBEAU, O. Les Ecrivains, Paris, Flammarion, 1925-1927, 2 vol.

MIRBEAU, O. Le Salon de 1885, Paris, E. Baschet, 1885, 28pp.

MIRBEAU, O. 'L'art et la nature', Le Gaulois, 20e année, 3e sér., n°1338, 26 avril 1886.

MIRBEAU, O. 'Claude Monet', Le Figaro, 2e sér., n°69, 10 mars 1889.

MIRBEAU, O. 'Claude Monet', L'Art dans les deux mondes, n°16, 7 mars 1891, pp.183-5.

MIRBEAU, O. 'Paul Gauguin', L'Echo de Paris, 8e année, n°2464, 16 février 1891.

MIRBEAU, O. 'Lettres à Claude Monet', Les Cahiers d'aujourd'hui, nouv. sér., 5e année, n°9, 1922, pp.161-76.

MOCKEL, A. Esthétique du symbolisme (Propos de littérature (1894), Stéphane Mallarmé, un héros (1899), textes divers, précédés d'une étude sur Albert Mockel par M. Otten), Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1962, 256pp.

MOCKEL, A. Propos de littérature, Paris, Lib. de l'art indépendant, 1894, 148pp.



MOERENHOUT, J.A. Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan, Paris, A. Bertrand, 1837, 2 vol.

MONET, C. Claude Monet (Biographie et catalogue raisonné par D. Wildenstein, Paris, La Bibliothèque des arts, 1974, 461pp. [The first of three projected volumes, it catalogues Monet's paintings up to 1881 and also contains 224 of Monet's letters.]

MONTAIGLON, A. de. 'Le salon de 1875', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tomes XI, Juin 1875, pp.489-521; XII, Juillet 1875, pp.5-43; Août 1875, pp.120-37.

MOREAS, J. Le Pèlerin passionné, Paris, Vanier 1891, v-129pp.

MOREAS, J. 'Epode', Le Chat noir, n°49, 16 décembre 1882, p.4.

MOREAS, J. See, in this section, Petit bottin...

MOREAS, J. Les Premières armes du symbolisme, Paris, Vanier, 1889, 51pp.

MOREAS, J. 'Peintures', Le Symboliste, 1ère année, n°3, 22-29 octobre 1886.

MOREAS, J. 'Le symbolisme. Un manifeste littéraire', Le Figaro, supplément littéraire, 12e année, n°38, 18 septembre 1886, pp.150-1.

MOREL, E. 'Notes sur l'évolution de l'art décoratif', Revue de l'évolution, 2e année, n°22, 1er janvier 1891, pp.21-3.

MORICE, Ch. Pages choisies, vers et prose, Paris, A. Messein, 1912, 346pp.

MORICE, Ch., GAUGUIN, P. Noa-noa. See, in this section, GAUGUIN, P.

MORICE, Ch. 'A Puvis de Chavannes', Mercure de France, Tome 13, n° 62, Février 1895, hors-texte. [Facing page 129. Morice's sonnet is accompanied by a Gauguin copy of Chavannes' painting, 'L'Espérance'.]

MORICE, Ch. Demain. Questions d'esthétique, Paris, Perrin, 1888, 30pp.

MORICE, Ch. Du Sens religieux de la poésie, Paris, Vanier, 1893, viii-104pp.

MORICE, Ch. Eugène Carrière, l'homme et sa pensée, l'artiste et son oeuvre. Essai de nomenclature des oeuvres principales, Paris, Mercure de France, 1906, 252pp.

MORICE, Ch. La Littérature de tout à l'heure, Paris, Perrin, 1889, vi-385pp.

MORICE, Ch. Paul Gauguin, nouv. édition, Paris, Floury, 1920, 256pp.  
[First published the previous year.]

MORICE, Ch. Rodin, Paris, Floury, 1900, 23pp.

MORICE, Ch. 'L'atelier de Paul Gauguin', Le Soir, 27e année, n°9236, 4 décembre 1894.

MORICE, Ch. 'Le départ de Paul Gauguin', Le Soir, 28e année, n°9437, 28 juin 1895.

MORICE, Ch. 'Exposition d'oeuvres récentes de Paul Gauguin', Mercur de France, Tome 9, n°48, Décembre 1893, pp.289-300.

MORICE, Ch. 'L'exposition van Gogh', Le Soir, 28e année, n°9414, 4 juin 1895.

MORICE, Ch. 'Les Gauguin du Petit Palais et de la rue Lafitte', Mer-cure de France, Tome 49, n°170, Février 1904, pp.386-96.

MORICE, Ch. 'Les passants', Le Soir:

27e année, n°9001, 10 avril 1894, 'Odilon Redon'.

27e année, n°9225, 23 novembre 1894, 'Paul Gauguin'.

28e année, n°9278, 17 janvier 1895, 'Puvis de Chavannes'.

MORICE, Ch. 'Paul Gauguin', Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui, Tome 9, n°440, 1896.

MORICE, Ch. 'Paul Gauguin', Mercure de France, Tome 48, n°166, Octobre 1903, pp.100-35.

MORICE, Ch. 'Les petits salons: Armand Séguin', Le Soir, 28e année, n°9307, 15 février 1895.

MORICE, Ch. 'Quelques opinions sur Paul Gauguin', Mercure de France, Tome 48, n°167, Novembre 1903, pp.413-33.

MORICE, Ch. 'Salons et salonnets', Mercure de France, Tome 10, n°49, Janvier 1894, pp.62-70. /on Gauguin.7

MORISOT, B. Correspondance de Berthe Morisot (avec sa famille et ses amis, Manet, Puvis de Chavannes, Degas, Monet, Renoir et Mallarmé), Paris, Quatre-chemins Editart, 1950, 189pp.

MORTIER, A. '9e exposition des impressionnistes et symbolistes', Le Soir, 28e année, n°9382, 2 mai 1895.

MUHLFELD, L. 'A propos de peintures', La Revue blanche, Tome 4, n° 20, Juin 1893, pp.453-60.

MUHLFELD, L. 'Sur la clarté', La Revue blanche, Tome 11, n°75, 15 juillet 1896, pp.73-82.

MUNTZ, E. 'Les femmes dans l'oeuvre de Léonard de Vinci', La Revue encyclopédique, Tome 2, n°29, 15 février 1892, pp.244-55.

MUSEAU, E. 'La Rose+Croix', La Plume, Tome 1, n°62, 15 novembre 1891, pp.409-10.

NATANSON, T. Peints à leur tour, Paris, Albin Michel, 1948, 389pp.

NATANSON, T. 'Collection Théodore Duret', La Revue blanche, Tome 6, n°30, Avril 1894, pp.376-9.

NATANSON, T. 'Exposition Odilon Redon', La Revue blanche, Tome 6, n°31, Mai 1894, pp.470-5.

NATANSON, T. 'Un groupe de peintres', La Revue blanche, Tome 5, n°25, Novembre 1893, pp.336-41. On the Nabis.

NATANSON, T. 'Oeuvres recentes de Paul Gauguin', La Revue blanche, Tome 5, n°26, Décembre 1893, pp.418-22.

NATANSON, T. 'Paul Cézanne', La Revue blanche, Tome 9, n°60, 1er décembre 1895, pp.496-500.

NATANSON, T. 'Peinture. A propos de MM. Charles Cottet, Gauguin, Edouard Vuillard et d'Edouard Manet', La Revue blanche, Tome 11, n°84, 1er décembre 1896, pp.516-8.

NATANSON, T. 'Salon de la Rose+Croix', La Revue blanche, Tome 18, n°44, 1er avril 1895, p.336.

OLIN, P.-M. 'Les XX', Mercure de France, Tome 2, n°16, Avril 1891, pp.236-40.

ORFER, L.d'. 'La grande marotte', Le Scapin, 2e sér., n°3, 16 octobre 1886, pp.88-94.

ORFER, L.d'. 'Le salon de 1886', Le Scapin, 2e année, n°13, 1er juin 1886, pp.3-4; n°14, 1er juillet 1886, pp.3-4; n°15, 1er août 1886, p.2; n°16, 15 août 1886, p.4.

PAPUS, Traité élémentaire de science occulte, Paris, G. Carré, 1886, 219pp.

PELADAN, J. 'Hymne à l'androgyné', La Plume, Tome 2, n°15, 1er mars 1891, pp.83-4.

PELADAN, J. La Décadence esthétique. I. L'Art achlocratique, salons de 1882 et 1883, Paris, C. Dalou, 1888, 216pp.

PELADAN, J. Salon de la Rose+Croix. Règles et monitoires, Paris, Dentu, 1891, 11-36pp.

PELADAN, J. 'Gustave Moreau', L'Ermitage, Tome 10, n°1, Janvier 1895, pp.29-34.

PELISSIER, G. 'L'évolution de la poésie dans ce dernier quart de siècle', La Revue et revue des revues, IIIe sér., n°5, 15 mars 1901, pp.638-50.

PERREAU, X. See, in this section, WYZEWA, T. de.

Petit bottin des lettres et des arts (par P. Adam, F. Fénéon, O. Metenier, J. Moréas), Paris, Giraud, 1886, 181pp.

PICARD, A. L'Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris. Rapport général, Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1891-1892, 10 vol.

PICARD, E. Le Juré (avec illustrations de Odilon Redon), Brussels, Impr. de Vve. Monnom, 1887, xlvii-141pp.

PILON, E. 'Exposition Manet', La Plume, Tome 5, n°124, 15 juin 1894, p.264.

PILON, E. 'Exposition Puvis de Chavannes', La Plume, Tome 5, n°134, 15 novembre 1894, p.485.

PILON, E. 'Gustave Kahn', L'Ermitage, Tome 12, n°2, Février 1896, pp.72-86.

PILON, E. 'Un nouvel album de Redon', La Revue blanche, Tome 11, n°76, 1er août 1896, pp.135-7.

PILON, E. 'Oeuvres d'Odilon Redon (chez Durand-Ruel)', La Plume, Tome 5, n°121, 1er mai 1894, pp.171-2.

P(ILON), E. 'Peintres impressionnistes et symbolistes (6e exposition chez le Baro de Boutteville)', La Plume, Tome 5, n°118, 15 mars 1894, pp.116-7.

PISSARRO, C. Camille Pissarro, son art, son oeuvre (catalogue établi par L.C.Pissarro et L. Venturi), Paris, P.Rosenberg, 1939, 2 vol.

PISSARRO, C. Lettres à son fils, Lucien (édition établie par J. Rewald), Paris, A. Michel, 1950, 528pp.

FLOWERT, J. [pseud.]. See, in this section, ADAM, P.

PLUME, La. [Special issue on contemporary painting], Tome 2, n°57, 1er septembre 1891. Chromo-luminaristes:

- a) J. Christophe: 'Georges Seurat', p.292.
- b) F. Fénéon: 'Paul Signac', pp.292-9.
- c) J. Antoine: 'Dubois-Pillet', p.299.
- d) G. Darien: 'Maximilien Luce', pp.299-300.

Néo-traditionnistes:

- e) G.-A. Aurier: 'Paul Gauguin', p.300.
- f) E. Bernard: 'Vincent van Gogh', pp.300-1.
- g) A. Retté: 'Maurice Denis', p.301.

Indépendants:

- h) J.-K. Huysmans: 'Paul Cézanne', p.301.
- j) G. Lecomte: 'Camille Pissarro', pp.301-2.
- k) P. Berrichon: 'Louis Anquetin', p.302.
- m) L. Maillard: 'Schuffenecker', p.303.
- n) A. Germain: 'Alexandre Séon', p.303.

PLUME, La. 'Puvis de Chavannes' (n° spécial), Tome 6, n°138, 15 janvier 1895, pp.27-60. [A very important account of the banquet held in Puvis' honour on 11 January 1895. It contains a full guest-list, a copy of the most important speeches, and the first publication, in whole or in part, of no less than 31 poems offered to the painter by poets such as Mallarmé, Verlaine, Mendès, Morice, Kahn, Rebell, Merrill, Fontainas, Coppée, Dierx etc. The collection forms an anthology of the symbolist poets' approaches to painting. In addition, Brunetière's speech in praise of Puvis is the signal for uproar among the audience, many of whom had never forgiven the critic for his attacks on Baudelaire, over seven years before.]

POINT, A. 'Florence, Botticelli, La Primavera', Mercure de France, Tome 17, n°73, Janvier 1896, pp.12-6.

POINT, A. 'Primitifs et symbolistes', L'Ermitage, Tome 11, n°7, juillet 1895, pp.11-6.

POISSON, A. Théories et symboles des alchimistes, Paris, Chacornac, 1891, xii-184pp.

PRAVIEL, A. 'Un écrivain d'art; Alphonse Germain', L'Occident,  
Tome 4, n°25, Décembre 1903, pp.281-5.

PREVOST, M. 'Le salon de 1891: impressions de vernissage', Revue  
bleue, 2e sér., Tome 47, n°19, 9 mai 1891, pp.602-4.

PROUST, A. 'Edouard Manet; souvenirs', La Revue blanche, Tome 12,  
n°88, 1er février 1897, pp.125-35; n°89, 15 février 1897, pp.168-80;  
n°90, 1er mars 1897, pp.200-7; n°91, 15 mars 1897, pp.306-15; n°92,  
1er avril 1897, pp.413-27.

PROUST, M. Les Plaisirs et les jours (Illustrations de M. Lemaire.  
Préface d'A. France et quatre pièces pour piano de R. Hahn), Paris,  
Calmann-Lévy, 1896, x-273pp.

PUVIS DE CHAVANNES, P. 'Lettres (1861-1876)', La Revue de Paris, 17e  
année, n°24, 15 décembre 1910, pp.673-94.

PUVIS DE CHAVANNES, P. See also, in this section, MORISOT, B.

RAMBOSSON, Y. 'Exposition permanente des peintres impressionnistes  
et symbolistes', La Plume, Tome 3, n°171, 1er avril 1892, p.165.

RAMBOSSON, Y. 'Le mois artistique. Salon de la Rose+Croix', Mercur  
de France, Tome 8, n°42, Juin 1893, pp.178-82.

RAMBOSSON, Y. 'Notes d'art', La Plume, Tome 1, n°62, 15 novembre  
1891, p.408. [Praises Manet and Puvis.]

RAMIRO, E. Catalogue descriptif et analytique de l'oeuvre gravé de  
Félicien Rops (précède d'une notice biographique et critique),  
Paris, Conquet, 1887, s.p. [See also the same critic's Supplément  
au catalogue descriptif...., published by Deman in Brussels, 1893,  
18-xii-171pp.]

REBELL, H. 'L'érotisme et le mysticisme en art', L'Ermitage, Tome 8,  
n°5, Mai 1894, pp.257-62.

REBELL, H. 'Snobs et snobinettes de sport'. See, in this section, Figures de Paris, pp.1-8.

REDON, O. The Graphic Works of Odilon Redon (Introduction by A. Werner), New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1969, xxvii-n.p., 209pl.

REDON, O. A Soi-même, Paris, Floury, 1922, 179pp.

REDON, O. Lettres d'Odilon Redon, 1878-1916 (publiées par sa famille avec une préface de M.-A. Leblond), Paris, G. van Oest, 1923, 143pp.

REDON, O. See also in this section, Lettres...à Emile Bernard.

REGNAULT, H. Correspondance (annotée et recueillie par A. Duparc, suivie du catalogue complet de l'oeuvre de Henri Régnauld), Paris, Charpentier, 1872, iii-432pp.

REGNIER, H. de. Poèmes 1887-1892, Paris, Mercure de France, 1895, 268pp.

REGNIER, H. de. Figures et caractères, Paris, Mercure de France, 1901, 351pp.

REGNIER, H. de. Nos rencontres, Paris, Mercure de France, 1931, 251pp.

REGNIER, H. de. 'Philosophie du pastel', Entretiens politiques et littéraires, Tome 1, n°2, 1er mai 1890, pp.46-51.

REGNIER, H. de. 'Puis de Chavannes. Panneau pour le Musée de Rouen', Entretiens politiques et littéraires, Tome 1, n°3, 1er juin 1890, pp.87-9.

REGNIER, H. de. See also, in this section, Lettres...à Odilon Redon.

RENAN, A. 'Gustave Moreau', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tomes XXI, Janvier 1899, pp.5-20; Mars 1899, pp.189-204; Avril 1899, pp.299-312; XXII, Juillet 1899, pp.57-70, Novembre 1899, pp.414-32; Décembre 1899, pp.479-97.



RENAN, A. 'Puvis de Chavannes d'après un livre récent', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome XV, Janvier 1896, pp.79-85.

RENARD, J. Journal, 1887-1910 (texte établi par L. Guichard et G. Sigaux. Préface, chronologie et index par G. Sigaux), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1960, lix-1412pp.

RENOIR, A. Auguste Renoir (catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint par F. Daulte, avant-propos de J. Renoir, préface de Ch. Durand-Ruel), Lausanne, Durand-Ruel, 1971, 429pp.

RETTE, A. L'Archipel en fleurs, Paris, Bibliothèque artistique et littéraire, 1895, 128pp.

RETTE, A. Aspects, Paris, Bibliothèque artistique et littéraire, 1897, v-218pp.

RETTE, A. Cloches en la nuit, Paris, Vanier, 1889, 95pp.

RETTE, A. Promenades subversives, Paris, Bibliothèque artistique et littéraire, 1896, 51pp.

RETTE, A. Le Symbolisme. Anecdotes et souvenirs, Paris, A. Messein, 1903, 276pp.

RETTE, A. 'Les Femmes au bord de la mer (A Puvis de Chavannes)', L'Ermitage, Tome 10, n°2, Février 1895, p.93.

RETTE, A. 'Bars et brasseries à l'exposition', La Vogue, nouv. sér., Tome II, 1889, pp.150-6.

RETTE, A. 'Chronique des livres', La Plume, Tome 6, n°138, 15 janvier 1895, pp.64-5. [Attacks Mallarmé's La Musique et les lettres.]

RETTE, A. 'Ecoles poétiques d'aujourd'hui', La Revue et revue des revues, IIIe sér., n°1, 1er janvier 1901, pp.78-87.

RETTE, A. 'Maurice Denis'. See also, in this section, PLUME, La (1g).

RETTE, A. 'Septième exposition des artistes indépendants', L'Ermitage, Tome 2, n°5, Mai 1891, pp.293-301.

RETTE, A. Letter to A. Vallette, 'Echos divers et communications', Mercure de France, Tome 12, n°60, Décembre 1894, pp.390-1.

RIMBAUD, A. Oeuvres complètes (édition établie, présentée et annotée par A. Adam), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1972, lli-1258pp.

RIMBAUD, A. Oeuvres (édition établie par S. Bernard), Paris, Garnier, 1960, 570pp.

RIOTOR, L. L'Art et l'idée. Essai sur Puvis de Chavannes, Paris Aux Bureaux de "L'Artiste", 1896, 78pp.

RIOTOR, L. 'Le paysage dans l'art', La Plume, Tome 5, n°125, 1er juillet 1894, pp.278-9.

RIVIERE, H. 'Aux indépendants', Le Chat noir, n°13, 8 avril 1882, p.2.

RODENBACH, G. 'La poésie nouvelle: à propos des décadents et symbolistes', Revue bleue, 2e sér., Tome 47, n°14, 4 avril 1891, pp.422-30.

ROUSSEAU, J.-J. 'Essai sur l'origine des langues' in: Projet concernant de nouveaux signes pour la musique, Geneva, 1781, pp.209-325. The volume bears the false title Traités sur la musique.

ROUSSEL, G. 'Les impressionnistes-symbolistes à l'exposition de Saint-Germain', La Plume, Tome 2, n°59, 1er octobre 1891, p.341.

SABBRIN, C. 'La science et la philosophie en art (l'impressionnisme)', Traduction de M.C. Vignier', La Vogue, Tome II, n°12, 4 octobre 1886, pp.410-8.

SAINT-ANTOINE 'L'oeuvre de René Ghil', L'Ermitage, Tome 2, n°1, Janvier 1891, pp.57-8.

SAINT-ANTOINE. 'Qu'est-ce que le symbolisme', L'Ermitage, Tome 8, n°6, Juin 1894, pp.332-7.

SAINT-POL-ROUX. Les Reposeurs de la procession, Paris, Mercure de France, 1893, 230pp.

SALIS, R. 'Salon de 1882', Le Chat noir, n°17, 6 mai 1882, p.2.

SAUNIER, C. 'L'art nouveau. I. Camille Pissarro. II. Les indépendants', La Revue indépendante, Tome 23, n°66, Avril 1892, pp.30-48.

SAUNIER, C. 'Le Prix de Rome depuis 1664', La Revue encyclopédique, Tome 6, n°151, 25 juillet 1896, pp.511-8.

SAUNIER, C. 'Salon des indépendants', La Plume, Tome 4, n°96, 15 avril 1893, pp.171-3.

SAWYER, E.K.S. 'French Symbolism: In Poetry and in Painting', Modern Art [Boston, Mass.], Vol. III, n°3, Summer 1896; pp.68-73; n°4, Autumn 1896, pp.99-104.

SCHURE, E. Le Drame musical. I. La Musique et la poésie dans leur développement historique. II. Richard Wagner: son oeuvre et son idée, Paris, Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1875, 2 vol.

SCHURE, E. Les Grandes légendes de France, Paris, Perrin, 1892, iv-299pp.

SCHURE, E. Les Grands initiés, Paris, Perrin, 1889, xxxii-554pp.

SCHURE, E. Précurseurs et révoltés, Paris, Perrin, 1904, vi-377pp.

SEAILLES, G. Léonard de Vinci: l'artiste et le savant, 1452-1519. Essai de biographie psychologique, Paris, Perrin, 1892, 551pp.

SEAILLES, G. 'Peintres contemporains: Puvis de Chavannes', Revue bleue, 1ère sér., Tome 41, n°5, 4 février 1888, pp.140-4; n°6, 11 février 1888, pp.179-85.

SEGALEN, V. Les Immémoriaux, Paris, Mercure de France, 1907, 153pp.

SEGALEN, V. Gauguin dans son dernier décor et autres textes de Tahiti, Paris, Editions Fata Morgana, 1975, 145pp.

SEGALEN, V. 'Hommage à Gauguin'. See, in this section, GAUGUIN, P. Lettres de Paul Gauguin à Georges-Daniel de Monfreid.

SEGALEN, V. 'Les synaesthésies et l'école symboliste', Mercur de France, Tome 42, n°148, Avril 1902, pp.57-90.

SEGUIN, A. 'Paul Gauguin', L'Occident, Tome 3, n°16, Mars 1903, pp. 158-67; 17, Avril 1903, pp.230-9; 18, Mai 1903, pp.298-305.

SERTAT, R. 'Camille Pissarro', La Revue encyclopédique, Tome 2, n°37, 15 juin 1892, pp884-5.

SERTAT, R. 'Exposition de M. Claude Monet', La Revue encyclopédique, Tome 1, n°12, 1er juin 1891, p.336.

SERUSIER, P. ABC de la peinture, Paris, La douce France, 1921, 35pp. 2e édition (suivie d'une étude sur la vie et l'oeuvre de P.Sérusier par M. Denis), Paris, Floury, 1942, 125pp. 3e édition (suivie d'une correspondance inédite, recueillie par Mme. P. Sérusier et annotée par Mlle. H. Boutario), Paris, Floury, 1950, 175pp.

SIGNAC, P. D'Eugène Delacroix au néo-impressionnisme, Paris, "La Revue blanche", 1899, 108pp.

SIZERANNE, R. de la. 'Rose+Croix, préraphaélites et esthètes', Le Correspondant, nouv. sér., Tome 130, 25 mars 1892, pp.1127-40.

SOURIAU, P. 'Le symbolisme des couleurs', La Revue de Paris, 2e année, n°8, 15 avril 1895, pp.849-70.

SOUZA, R. de. Questions de métrique. Le Rythme poétique, Paris, Perrin, 1892, 304pp.

STEVENS, A. Impressions sur la peinture, Paris, Librairie des bibliophiles, 1886, 97pp.

SYMONS, A. 'Odilon Redon', La Revue indépendante, Tome 18, n°53, Mars 1891, pp.390-6.

TARDIEU, E. 'La peinture et les peintres: M. Puvis de Chavannes. M. Paul Gauguin', L'Echo de Paris, 12e année, n°4003, 13 mai 1895, p.2.

TREVENIN, L. L'Esthétique de Gustave Moreau, Paris, Vanier, 1897, 22pp.

SEGALEN, V. 'Les synaesthésies et l'école symboliste', Mercur de France, Tome 42, n°148, Avril 1902, pp.57-90.

SEGUIN, A. 'Paul Gauguin', L'Occident, Tome 3, n°16, Mars 1903, pp. 158-67; 17, Avril 1903, pp.230-9; 18, Mai 1903, pp.298-305.

SERTAT, R. 'Camille Pissarro', La Revue encyclopédique, Tome 2, n°37, 15 juin 1892, pp884-5.

SERTAT, R. 'Exposition de M. Claude Monet', La Revue encyclopédique, Tome 1, n°12, 1er juin 1891, p.336.

SERUSIER, P. ABC de la peinture, Paris, La douce France, 1921, 35pp. 2e édition (suivie d'une étude sur la vie et l'oeuvre de P.Sérusier par M. Denis), Paris, Floury, 1942, 125pp. 3e édition (suivie d'une correspondance inédite, recueillie par Mme. P. Sérusier et annotée par Mlle. H. Boutaric), Paris, Floury, 1950, 175pp.

SIGNAC, P. D'Eugène Delacroix au néo-impressionnisme, Paris, "La Revue blanche", 1899, 108pp.

SIZERANNE, R. de la. 'Rose+Croix, préraphaélites et esthètes', Le Correspondant, nouv. sér., Tome 130, 25 mars 1892, pp.1127-40.

SOURIAU, P. 'Le symbolisme des couleurs', La Revue de Paris, 2e année, n°8, 15 avril 1895, pp.849-70.

SOUZA, R. de. Questions de métrique. Le Rythme poétique, Paris, Perrin, 1892, 304pp.

STEVENS, A. Impressions sur la peinture, Paris, Librairie des bibliophiles, 1886, 97pp.

SYMONS, A. 'Odilon Redon', La Revue indépendante, Tome 18, n°53, Mars 1891, pp.390-6.

TARDIEU, E. 'La peinture et les peintres: M. Puvis de Chavannes. M. Paul Gauguin', L'Echo de Paris, 12e année, n°4003, 13 mai 1895, p.2.

TREVENIN, L. L'Esthétique de Gustave Moreau, Paris, Vanier, 1897, 22pp.

THEVENIN, L. La Renaissance païenne; étude sur Lévy-Dhurmer, Paris, Vanier, 1898, 20pp.

THIEBAULT-SISSON, P. 'Puvis de Chavannes raconté par lui-même', Le Temps, 35e année, n°12285, 16 janvier 1895.

THIEBAULT-SISSON, P. 'Trois artistes. MM. Steinlen, Odilon Redon, Achille Cesbron', Le Temps, 34e année, n°12013, 17 avril 1894.

THOREL, J. 'Les romantiques allemands et les symbolistes français', Entretiens politiques et littéraires, Tome 3, n°18, 1er septembre 1891, pp.95-109.

TOLSTOY, L. Ecrits sur l'art (rassemblés, présentés et annotés par L. Radoyce. Traduit du russe par M. Minoustchine. Postface d'Alain Jouffroy), Paris, Gallimard, 1971, 501pp.

UZANNE, O. 'Les idées du jour. Impressionnisme et symbolisme en peinture', L'Art et l'idée, n°1, Janvier 1892, pp.74-5.

UZANNE, O. 'Quelques plaisants croquis faits en sa prime manière par maître Félicien Rops', L'Art et l'idée, n°3, Mars 1892, pp.161-75.

VACHON, M. Les Peintres étrangers à l'exposition universelle de 1878, Paris, L. Baschet, 1878, vi-83pp.

VACHON, M. Puvis de Chavannes, Paris, Braun, Clément et Cie. et A. Lahure, 1895, 170pp.

VALERY, P. Oeuvres (édition établie, avec notes, textes complémentaires et bibliographie, par J. Hytier), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1957-1960, 2 vol.

VALERY, P. Lettres à quelques-uns, Paris, Gallimard, 1952, 253pp.

VALIN, P. 'L'art par le symbole', L'Ermitage, Tome 2, n°7, Juillet 1891, pp.385-90.

VALIN, P. 'Ceux de demain. Les jeunes et leurs revues', L'Art et l'idée

n°1, Janvier 1892, pp.62-9.

VALLETTE, A. 'Les symbolistes', Le Scapin, 2e sér., n°3, 16 octobre 1886, pp.73-81.

VAN BEVER, A., LEAUTAUD, P. Poètes d'aujourd'hui, 1880-1900 (morceaux choisis accompagnés de notices biographiques et d'un essai de bibliographie), Paris, Mercure de France, 1900, 425pp.

VANDEREM, F. 'Vernissages', Revue bleue, 3e sér., Tome 19, n°51, 15 mai 1893, pp.607-9.

VAN GOGH, V. Correspondance complète (Traduction de M. Deerbloek et L. Roelandt. Introduction et notes de G. Charensol), Paris, Gallimard, 1960, 3 vol.

VAN GOGH, V. 'Extraits de lettres à Emile Bernard', Mercure de France, Tomes 7, n°40, Avril 1893, pp.333-9; 8, n°41, Mai 1893, pp.1-22; n°42, Juin 1893, pp.112-22; n°43, Juillet 1893, pp.211-7.

VAN GOGH, V. 'Lettres à Théodore van Gogh', Mercure de France, Tomes 8, n°44, Août 1893, pp.303-15; 9, n°45, Septembre 1893, pp.69-76; n°46, Octobre 1893, pp.109-19; n°47, Novembre 1893, pp.263-72; 10, n°49, Janvier 1894, pp.28-36; n°51, Mars 1894, pp.221-9.

VAN GOGH, V. See also, in this section, Lettres...à Emile Bernard.

VANOR, G. L'Art symboliste (Préface de P. Adam), Paris, Vanier, 1889, 43pp.

VERHAEREN, E. Quelques notes sur l'oeuvre de Fernand Knopff, Brussels, V. Monnom, 1887, 28pp.

VERHAEREN, E. 'L'exposition des XX à Bruxelles', La Revue indépendante, Tome 6, n°17, Mars 1888, pp.454-62.

VERHAEREN, E. See also, in this section, Lettres...à Odilon Redon.

VERKADE, J. Le Tourment de Dieu, Paris, L. Rouart et J. Watelin, 1923, xv-287pp.

VERLAINE, P. Oeuvres complètes (texte établi par J. Borel et H. de Bouillane de Lacoste. Introduction d'O. Nadel), Paris, Le Club du meilleur livre, 1959-1960, 2 vol.

VERLAINE, P. Oeuvres poétiques complètes (texte établi et annoté par Y.-G. Le Dantec. Edition révisée, complétée et présentée par J. Borel), Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1962, xliv-1491pp.

VERLAINE, P. 'Arthur Rimbaud', Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui, Tome 7, n°318, 1888.

VERLAINE, P. 'Charles Baudelaire', L'Art, 1ère année, n°3, 16 novembre 1865, pp.2-3; n°5, 30 novembre 1865, pp.4-5; n°8, 23 décembre 1865, pp.2-4.

VERLAINE, P. 'René Ghil', Les Hommes d'aujourd'hui, Tome 7, n°338, 1888.

VERLAINE, P. Correspondance (publiée sur les manuscrits originaux avec une préface et des notes par A. van Bever), Paris, A. Messein, 1923, 3 vol.

VERLAINE, P. Lettres inédites à Charles Morice (publiées et annotées par G. Zayed), 2e édition, Paris, Nizet, 1969, 153pp.

VERON, E. L'Esthétique, Paris, C. Reinwald, 1878, xxvi-479pp.

VIELE-GRIFFIN, F. La Chevauchée d'Yeldis et autres poèmes, Paris, Vanier, 1893, 100pp.

VIELE-GRIFFIN, F. 'A propos du vers libre', Entretiens politiques et littéraires, Tome 1, avant-premier numéro, 1er mars 1890, pp.3-11.

VIELE-GRIFFIN, F. 'Elucidations', Entretiens politiques et littéraires, Tome 2, n°13, 1er avril 1891, pp.153-8.

VIELE-GRIFFIN, F. 'Mallarmé', Entretiens politiques et littéraires, Tome 3, n°17, 1er août 1891, pp.67-72.

VIELE-GRIFFIN, F. 'Qu'est-ce que c'est', Entretiens politiques et littéraires, Tome 2, n°12, 1er mars 1891, pp.65-6.



WAGNER, R. Briefwechsel zwischen Wagner und Liszt (3e erweiterte Auflage in volkstümlicher Gestalt heraus gegeben von E. Kloss. Zwei Teile in einem Bande), Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1910, vi-351-346ss.

WYZEWA, T. de., PERREAU, X. Les Grands peintres de l'Allemagne, de la France (période contemporaine), de l'Espagne et de l'Angleterre, suivi de l'histoire sommaire de la peinture japonaise, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1891, 192pp.

WYZEWA, T. de. Nos maîtres, Paris, Perrin, 1895, 364pp.

WYZEWA, T. de. Peintres de jadis et d'aujourd'hui, Paris, Perrin, 1903, 392pp.

WYZEWA, T. de. 'Berthe Morisot', L'Art dans les deux mondes, n°19, 28 mars 1891, pp.223-4.

WYZEWA, T. de. 'Une critique. I. La critique. II. L'art. III. L'art contemporain', La Revue indépendante, Tome 1, n°1, Novembre 1886, pp.49-78.

WYZEWA, T. de. 'Georges Seurat', L'Art dans les deux mondes, n°22, 18 avril 1891, pp.263-4.

WYZEWA, T. de. 'Les livres', La Revue indépendante, Tome 5, n°14, Décembre 1887, pp.321-43 [On Wagner and the Goncourts.]

WYZEWA, T. de. 'M. Mallarmé', La Vogue, Tome I, n°11, 5 juillet 1886, pp.361-75; n°12, 12 juillet 1886, pp.414-24.

WYZEWA, T. de. 'Notes sur la peinture wagnérienne et le salon de 1886', Revue wagnérienne, Tome I, n°IV, 8 mai 1886, pp.100-13.

WYZEWA, T. de. 'Le nouveau salon du Champ-de-Mars', L'Art dans les deux mondes, n°30, 13 juin 1891, pp.39-41.

WYZEWA, T. de. 'Pierre-Auguste Renoir', L'Art dans les deux mondes, n°3, 6 décembre 1890, pp.27-8.

WYZEWA, T. de. 'Le salon de 1894', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tomes XI, Juin 1894, pp.449-68; XII, Juillet 1894, pp.25-42.

WYZEWA, T. de. 'Voyage aux primitifs allemands', La Revue indépendante, Tome 5, n°13, Novembre 1887, pp.201-35.

YMAGIER, L'. Paris, 1894-1896, 2 vol. /An important review which published popular imagery, primitive, medieval and contemporary prints. Directed by Jarry and Rémy de Gourmont, it is now conserved at the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, Paris, 356 U.G.7

ZOLA, E. Mes haines, causeries artistiques et littéraires, Paris, A. Faure, 1866, 278pp. /2nd ed., Paris, Charpentier, 1879.7

ZOLA, E. Mon salon (augmenté d'une dédicace et d'un appendice), Paris, Librairie Centrale, 1866, 100pp.

C. SECONDARY SOURCES. 1. LITERARY HISTORY.

Comprising useful general studies of literary Symbolism and of the poets discussed in this thesis, with particular reference to their relationships with painting.

ABRAMS, M.H. The Mirror and the Lamp. Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition, New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1953, xiii-406pp.

Actes du 5e congrès international des langues et littératures modernes (1951). Les langues et littératures modernes dans leur relations avec les beaux-arts, Florence, Valmartina, 1955, 546pp.

[Acts of the congress held in Florence, 27-31 March 1951. See in particular:

- a) P. Martino: 'Rapports de la littérature et des arts plastiques. Parnasse et symbolisme', pp.399-410.
- b) F. Lazaro: 'La metafora impresionista', pp.475-82.
- c) R. K  chler: 'Weltgef  hl und Formtrieb. Mallarm   und Val  ry', pp.497-504. ]

ARNAUD, N. 'Aurier aux savates ail  es et "Ir  n  e"'. See, in this section, Dossiers...

ARNOLD, I. 'Villiers de l'Isle-Adam and "  criture artiste"', French Review, Vol. XLVII, n  5, April 1974, pp.874-81.

ARRIVE, M. Les Langages de Jarry. Essai de s  miotique litt  raire, Paris, Klincksieck, 1972, 382pp.

AUSTIN, L.J.   tudes sur les po  tes symbolistes fran  ais. L'Univers po  tique de Baudelaire, Paris, Mercure de France, 1956, 355pp.

AUSTIN, L.J. '"L'Apr  s-midi d'un faune" de St  phane Mallarm  : lexique compar   des trois   tats du po  me' in: Studi in onore di Carlo Pellegrini, Turin, Societ   editrice internazionale, 1963, pp.733-8.

AUSTIN, L.J. '"L'Apr  s-midi d'un faune": essai d'explication', Synth  ses, Tome 22, n  258-9, D  cembre 1967 - Janvier 1968, pp.24-35.

AUSTIN, L.J. 'Mallarm   and Gautier: New Light on "Toast fun  bre"' in: CHARLTON, D.G., GAUDON, J., PUGH, A.R. (eds.): Balzac and the Nine-

teenth Century. Studies in French Literature Presented to H.J. Hunt, Leicester, Leicester Univ. Press, 1972, pp.335-51.

AUSTIN, L.J. 'Mallarmé and the Visual Arts'. See, in the following section, FINKE, U. (ed.): French 19th Century Painting...

AUSTIN, L.J. 'Mallarmé critique d'art' in: HASKELL, F., LEVI, A., SHACKLETON, R. (eds.): The Artist and the Writer in France. Essays in Honour of Jean Seznec. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974, pp.153-62.

AUSTIN, L.J. 'Mallarmé et le rêve du "livre"', Mercur de France. Tome 317, n°1073, 1er janvier 1953, pp.81-108.

AUSTIN, L.J. 'Mallarmé's Reshaping of "Le Pitre châtié"'. See, in this section, BEAUMONT, E.M....(eds.): Order and Adventure...

BALAKIAN, A. The Symbolist Movement. A Critical Appraisal, New York, Random House, 1967, viii-208pp.

BALDICK, R. The Life of J.-K. Huysmans. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, viii-425pp.

BARBIER, C.P. 'La documentation mallarméenne'. See, in this section, Colloque...

BARRE, A. Le Symbolisme. Essai historique sur le mouvement poétique en France de 1885 à 1900, Paris, Jouve, 1912, ix-414pp. [See also same author in section A.]

BARRIERE, J. 'Les "Voyelles" telles quelles', Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, 74e année, n°2, Mars-Avril 1974, pp.214-22.

BARTHES, R. 'La lutte avec l'ange: analyse textuelle de Genèse 32. 23-33' in: Analyse structurale et exégèse biblique, Neuchâtel, Delachaux & Niestlé, 1971, pp.27-39.

BEAUMONT, E.M., COCKING, J.M. CRUICKSHANK, J. (eds.): Order and Adventure in Post-Romantic French Poetry. Essays Presented to C.A. Hackett. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1973, 271pp.

[ See in particular:

- a) L.J. Austin: 'Mallarmé's Reshaping of "Le Pitre châtié"' pp.56-71.
- b) A. Gill: 'Mallarmé's Use of Christian Imagery for Post-Christian Concepts', pp.72-88.
- c) A. Sonnenfeld: 'Eros and Poetry: Mallarmé's Disappearing Visions', pp.89-98.
- d) R. Little: '"Ut pictura poesis": an Element of Order in the Adventure of the "poème en prose"!', pp.244-56. ]

BELLOUR, R. 'Stephane Mallarmé 1842-1898', Magazine littéraire, n°96, Janvier 1975, pp.7-17.

BERGER, K. 'Mallarmé and the Visual Arts'. See, in this section, Les Mardis...

BERNARD, S. Mallarmé et la musique, Paris, Nizet, 1959, 185pp.

BERNARD, S. Le Poème en prose de Baudelaire jusqu'à nos jours, Paris, Nizet, 1959, 816pp.

BERNARD, S. 'La palette de Rimbaud'. See, in this section, Cahiers...(1)

BERTHOLET, E. La Pensée et les secrets du S<sup>er</sup> Josephin Péladan, Lausanne-Paris, Editions rosicruciennes, 1955, 2 vol.

BERTRAN, A.H.S. '"Mercure de France": the Birth of a Publishing House', French Review, Vol. XXXIII, n°4, February 1960, pp.351-58.

BLANCHOT, M. L'Espace littéraire, Paris, Gallimard, 1955, 295pp.

[See particularly: 'L'expérience de Mallarmé', pp.30-41.]

BLOCK, H.M. 'The Alleged Parallel of Metaphysical and Symbolist Poetry'. See, in this section, Comparative Literature... (f).

BLOCK, H.M. 'Interpreting Symbolist Poetry', Comparative Literature Studies, Vol. VII, n°4, December 1970, pp.489-503.

BOLGAR, R.R. 'Laforque's "Derniers vers": some Textual and Critical Problems', Forum for Modern Language Studies, Vol. III, n°4, October 1967, pp.388-97.

BONNIOT, E. 'Notes sur les mardis', Les Marges, Tome LVII, n°224, 10 janvier 1936, pp.11-18.

BOWIE, T. R. The Relationship between French Literature and Painting in the XIXth Century, Ohio, Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, 1938, 20pp.  
 [Inserted as a preface to the catalogue of the exhibition of the same name, held in the Columbus Gallery, April-May 1938. In May 1935, the same author submitted, in the University of California, a Ph.D. thesis entitled Les Rapports entre la littérature et la peinture en France, 1840 à 1880, which has not been published and which I have been unfortunately unable to consult.]

BRETON, A. 'Alfred Jarry, initiateur et éclairer; son rôle dans les arts plastiques', Arts, n°331, 2 novembre 1951, pp.1, 10.

BROOKNER, A. The Genius of the Future. Studies in French Art Criticism Diderot, Stendhal, Baudelaire, Zola, the brothers Goncourts, Huysmans, London, Phaidon, 1971, viii-172pp.

BROWN, C.S. 'The Musical Analogies in Mallarmé's "Un Coup de dés"'. See, in this section, Comparative Literature... (b).

BURNE, G.S. 'Remy de Gourmont and the Aesthetics of Symbolism', See, in this section, Comparative Literature... (g).

BUTLER, J.D. Jean Moréas. A Critique of his Poetry, The Hague, Mouton, 1967, 236pp.

Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises. 'Impressionnisme et symbolisme dans la littérature et dans les arts', (n° spécial), n°12, Juin 1960, pp.103-87.

[See in particular:

a) S. Bernard: 'La palette de Rimbaud', pp.105-19.

- b) M. Decaudin: 'Poésie impressionniste et poésie symboliste', pp.133-42.
- c) A.-G. Lehmann: 'Un aspect de la critique symboliste: signification et ambiguïté dans les beaux-arts', pp.161-74. ]

Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises.

'Symbolique et symbolisme' (n° spécial), n°6, Juillet 1954, pp.75-143.

[See in particular:

- a) G. Michaud: 'Symbolique et symbolisme', pp.75-95.
- b) P. Moreau: 'Symbole, symbolique, symbolisme', pp.123-9.
- c) E. Starkie: 'L'esthétique du symbolisme', pp.131-8. ]

CAMPOS, C.L. 'Symbolism and Mallarmé' in: CRUICKSHANK, J. (ed.): French Literature and its Background. 5. The Late Nineteenth Century, Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1969, pp.132-53.

CARAMASCHI, E. Réalisme et impressionnisme dans l'oeuvre des frères Goncourts, Paris, Nizet, 1971, 297pp.

CARTER, A.E. The Idea of Decadence in French Literature, 1830-1900, Toronto, Toronto Univ. Press, 1958, ix-154pp.

CARTER, A.E. Baudelaire et la critique française, 1868-1917, Columbia, Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1963, 298pp.

CARTER, T.P. '"Les petites revues" and the Embattled Periodical "Art et critique" (1889-1892)' French Review, Vol. XLVI, n°3, February 1973, pp.475-83.

CAZAMIAN, M.L. 'Symbolism and Poetry', Univ. of Toronto Quarterly, Vol. V, July 1936, pp.520-43.

CEVASCO, G.A. 'J.-K. Huysmans and the Impressionists', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XVII, n°2, December 1958, pp. 201-7.

CHADWICK, C. Symbolism, London, Methuen, 1971, 71pp.

CHADWICK, C. 'Mallarmé et ses critiques'. See, in this section, Colloque... (b).

CHAIX, M.A. La Correspondance des arts dans la poésie contemporaine, Paris, Alcan, 1919, 148pp.

CHAMPIGNY, R. 'Trois définitions du symbolisme'. See, in this section, Comparative Literature... (e).

CHASSE, Ch. 'Gauguin et Mallarmé', L'Amour de l'art, Tome III, n°8, Août 1922, pp.246-56.

CHISHOLM, A.C. "L'Après-midi d'un faune": exégèse et étude critique (Traduction de F. van Laere et de l'auteur), 2e édition, Brussels, Jacques Antoine, 1974, 46pp.

CHISHOLM, A.C. 'The Role of Consciousness in the Poetry of Mallarmé and Valéry'. See, in this section, Comparative Literature... (c).

COHN, R.G. Mallarmé Masterwork. New Findings, The Hague, Mouton, 1966, 114pp.

COHN, R.G. Toward the Poems of Mallarmé, Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1965, x-284pp.

COHN, R.G. 'The Assault on Symbolism', Comparative Literature Studies, Vol. V, n°1, March 1968, pp.69-75.

Colloque Mallarmé (Glasgow - Novembre 1973) (texte établi par C.P. Barbier), Paris, Nizet, 1975, 171pp.

[/ See in particular:

- a) C.P. Barbier: 'La documentation mallarméenne', pp.37-55.
- b) C. Chadwick: 'Mallarmé et ses critiques', pp.71-82.
- c) D. Mossop: 'L'exégèse mallarméenne', pp.105-15.
- d) A. Gill: 'Mallarmé: la vie et les oeuvres', pp.135-49.

The discussions which followed each communication of the colloquium are also published in this important volume.]



Comparative Literature Studies. 'The Symbolist Movement'. (special issue), Tome IV, n°1-2, March - June 1967, pp.1-199.

[See in particular:

- a) P. Moreau: 'De la symbolique religieuse à la poésie symboliste', pp.5-16.
- b) C.S. Brown: 'The Musical Analogies in Mallarmé's "Un Coup de dés"', pp.67-79.
- c) A.C. Chisholm: 'The Role of Consciousness in the Poetry of Mallarmé and Valéry', pp.81-9.
- d) M. Decaudin: 'Un mythe "fin-de-siècle": Salomé', pp.109-17.
- e) R. Champigny: 'Trois définitions du symbolisme', pp.127-33.
- f) H.M. Block: 'The Alleged Parallel of Metaphysical and Symbolist Poetry', pp.145-59.
- g) G.S. Burne: 'Rémy de Gourmont and the Aesthetics of Symbolism', pp.161-75. ]

CONTINI, G. 'Sulla trasformazione dell'"Après-midi d'un faune', L'Immagine, numeri 9-10 (numéro speciale: Ommagio a Mallarmé), Agosto-Dicembre 1948, pp.502-13.

CORNELL, K. The Symbolist Movement, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1951, x-217pp.

CORNELL, W.K. Adolphe Rette 1863-1930, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1942, viii-303pp.

CORNELL, W.K. '"La Plume" and the Poetry of the Nineties', Yale Romanic Studies, Vol. XVIII, 1941, pp.331-53.

COULON, M. Une Minute de l'heure symboliste: Albert Aurier. Paris, Mercure de France, 1921, 46pp.

CREMIEUX, B. 'L'Oeuvre de Gustave Kahn', Le Monde nouveau, 5e année, Tome IV, n°14, 15 juillet 1923, pp.101-20.

DAVIES, G. Mallarmé et le drame solaire. Essai d'exégèse raisonnée. Paris, José Corti, 1959, 303pp.

DAVIES, G. Les Poèmes commémoratifs de Mallarmé. Essai d'exégèse

raisonnée. Paris, José Corti, 1950, 234pp.

DAVIES, G. Vers une explication rationnelle du "Coup de dés". Essai d'exégèse mallarméenne (Préface de H. Mondor), Paris, José Corti, 1953, 210pp.

DECAUDIN, M. La Crise des valeurs symbolistes, vingt ans de poésie française 1895-1914, Toulouse, Privat, 1960, 535pp.

DECAUDIN, M. 'Aurier l'ignoré'. See, in this section, Dossiers...(a).

DECAUDIN, M. 'Un mythe "fin-de-siècle": Salomé'. See, in this section, Comparative Literature... (d).

DECAUDIN, M. 'Poésie impressionniste et poésie symboliste'. See, in this section, Cahiers...(1b).

DELSEMME, P. Téodor de Wyzéwa et le cosmopolitisme littéraire en France à l'époque du symbolisme, Brussels, Presses universitaires de Bruxelles, 1967, 2 vol.

DELSEMME, P. Un Théoricien du symbolisme: Charles Morice, Paris, Nizet, 1958, 276pp.

DELVAILLE, B. La Poésie symboliste, Paris, Seghers, 1971, 429pp.  
[A very useful anthology of poems, selected and introduced by the author. It includes, in addition to the usual anthology works of the major figures between 1850 and 1900, a considerable number of little-known works by minor poets of the 1890's.]

DORBEC, P. Les Lettres françaises dans leurs contacts avec l'atelier de l'artiste, Paris, P.U.F., 1929, 128pp. [On Mallarmé and Impressionism, pp.122-5.]

Dossiers acénonètes du Collège de Pataphysique. 'G.-Albert Aurier' (n° spécial) n°15, Octobre 1961, pp.3-66.

[See in particular:

a) M. Decaudin: 'Aurier l'ignoré', pp.41-6.

b) S. Rusio: 'Biographie d'Albert Aurier', pp.47-51.

c) N. Arnaud: 'Aurier aux savates ailées et "Irénée"', pp.53-62.]

DRISCOLL, I.J. 'Visual Allusion in the Work of Théophile Gautier' French Studies, Vol. XXVII, n°4, October 1973, pp.418-28.

DUFOUR, M. Une Philosophie de l'impressionnisme. Etude sur l'esthétique de Jules Laforgue, Paris, A. Messein, 1904, 41pp.

DURRY, M.-J. Jules Laforgue, Paris, Seghers, 1952, 255pp.

ETIEMBLE, R. Le Mythe de Rimbaud. Genèse du mythe 1869-1949, 2e édition, revue et augmentée, Paris, Gallimard, 1968, 545pp.

ETIEMBLE, R. Le Sonnet des voyelles. De l'audition colorée à la vision érotique, Paris, Gallimard, 1968, 251pp.

ETIEMBLE, R. 'Le sonnet des voyelles', Revue de littérature comparée Tome 19, n°2, Avril-Juin 1939, pp.235-61.

FAYOLLE, R. La Critique littéraire, Paris, A. Colin, 1964, 431pp.

FISER, E. Le Symbole littéraire. Essai sur la signification du symbole chez Wagner, Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Bergson et Proust, Paris, José Corti, 1941, 225pp.

FOSCA, F. De Diderot à Valéry. Les Ecrivains et les arts visuels, Paris, Albin Michel, 1960, 301pp.

FOWLIE, W. 'Mallarme and the Painters of his Age', The Southern Review, Vol. 2, n°3, Summer 1966, pp.542-58.

FRAENKEL, E. Les Dessins trans-conscients de Stéphane Mallarmé (avant-propos par E. Souriau), Paris, Nizet, 1960, 44pp., 68 pl. hors-texte.

FREY, J.A. Motif Symbolism in the Disciples of Mallarmé, Washington, Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1957, xx-158pp.

FURST, L.R. 'Zola's Art Criticism'. See, in following section,

FINKE, U. (ed.): French 19th Century Painting... (b).

GIBBS, B.J. 'Impressionism as a Literary Movement', Modern Language Journal, Vol. XXXVI, n°4, April 1952, pp.175-83.

GIEDION-WELCKER, C. Jarry, eine Monographie (Biographie und Bibliographie von H. Bolliger), Zurich, die Arche, 1960, 172pp.

GILL, A. 'Mallarmé et l'antiquité: "L'Après-midi d'un faune"', Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises, n°10, Mai 1958, pp.158-73.

GILL, A. 'Mallarmé's Use of Christian Imagery...'. See, in this section, BEAUMONT, E.M...(eds.): Order and Adventure... (b).

GILL, A. 'Mallarmé: la vie et les oeuvres'. See, in this section, Colloque... (d).

GLAUSER, A. Le Poème-symbole de Scève à Valéry, Paris, Nizet, 1967, 223pp.

GUICHARD, L. La Musique et les lettres en France au temps du wagnérisme, Paris, P.U.F., 1963, 354pp.

GUYOT, Ch. 'La genèse de "L'après-midi d'un faune" in: Stéphane Mallarmé, essais et témoignages, Neufchatel, la Braconnière, 1942, pp.81-106.

HAAS, A. 'Souvenirs de la vie littéraire à Paris', Les Soirées de Paris, Tome II, 15 mai 1914, pp.251-74.

HAGSTRUM, J.H. The Sister Arts. The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1958, xxii-336pp.

HARRIS, J.C. 'A Little-known Essay on Manet by Stéphane Mallarmé', The Art Bulletin, Vol. XLVI, n°4, pp.559-63.

HATZFELD, H.A. Literature through Art: A New Approach to French Literature, New York, Oxford Univ. Press, 1952, xiii-247pp.

HAUTECOEUR, L. Littérature et peinture en France du XVIIe au XXe siècle, Paris, A. Colin, 1942, 327pp.

HEMMINGS, F.W.J. Culture and Society in France, 1848-1898, London, Batsford, 1971, 280pp.

HERAIN, F. de. Les Grands écrivains critiques d'art, Paris, Mercure de France, 1943, 157pp.

HIGGINS, I. 'Towards a Poetic Theatre: Poetry and the Plastic Arts in Verhaeren's Aesthetics' in: HIGGINS, I. (ed.): Literature and the Plastic Arts 1880-1930, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1973, pp.1-23.

HOURTICQ, L. L'Art et la littérature, Paris, Flammarion, 1946, 295pp.  
[On second half of nineteenth century in France, pp.217-89.]

IRESON, J.C. L'Oeuvre poétique de Gustave Kahn (1859-1936), Paris, Nizet, 1962, 685pp.

JACKSON, A.B. La Revue blanche, 1889-1903, Paris, Les Presses modernes, 1960, 329pp.

JALOUX, E. Les Saisons littéraires, 1896-1903, Fribourg, W. Egloff, 1942, 345pp.

JEANCLAUDE, G. Edouard Schuré, auteur des "Grands initiés": sa vie, son oeuvre, Paris, Fischbacher, 1968, 200pp.

JOHNSON, J.T. Jr. 'Literary Impressionism in France. A Survey of Criticism' L'Esprit créateur, Vol.XIII, n°4, Winter 1973, pp.271-97.

JONES, P.M. The Background of Modern French Poetry. Essays and Interviews, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1951, xii-196pp.

JOSEPHS, L.A. Henri Cazalis; sa vie son oeuvre, son amitié avec Mallarmé, Paris, Nizet, 1972, 299pp.

JOUVIN, H. 'Huysmans critique d'art', Cahiers J.-K Huysmans, n°20, Mai 1947, pp.356-75.

KAHNWEILER, D. 'Mallarmé et la peinture', Les Lettres, Tome III, n° 9-11, (n° spécial), 1948, pp.63-8.

KOTZIN, M. 'Pre-Rapheilitism, Ruskinism and French Symbolism', Art Journal, Vol. XXV, n°4, Summer 1966, pp.347-50.

KÜCHLER, R. 'Weltgefühl und Formtrieb. Mallarmé und Valéry'. See, in this section, Actes... (c).

LACHARITE, V.A. 'A Note on Rimbaud's "Voyelles"', Romance Notes, Vol. IX, n°1, Autumn 1967, pp.53-6.

LANDOW, G.P. 'Ruskin's Version of "Ut Pictura Poesis"', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XXVI, n°4, Summer 1968, pp.521-8.

LAWLER, J.R. The Language of French Symbolism, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1969, 270pp.

LAZARO, F. 'La metafora impresionista'. See, in this section, Actes... (h).

LEBOIS, A. Jarry, l'irremplacable, Paris, le Cercle du Livre, 1950, 237pp.

LEFEBVRE, L. Une Grande figure du symbolisme. Charles Morice, le poète et l'homme, Paris, Perrin, 1926, 254pp.

LEHMANN, A.G. The Symbolist Aesthetic in France, 1885-1895, 2nd ed., Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1968, 328pp.

LEHMANN, A.G. 'Un aspect de la critique symboliste...' See, in this section, Cahiers... (lc).

LEIRIS, A. de. 'Charles Morice and his Times', Comparative Literature Studies, Vol. IV, n°4, December 1967, pp.371-95.

LETHEVE, J. Impressionnistes et symbolistes devant la presse, Paris A. Colin, 1959, 303pp.

LEVESQUE, J.H. Alfred Jarry, Paris, Seghers, 1951, 221pp.

LITTLE, R. '"Ut Pictura Poesis": an Element of Order...' See, in this section, DEAUMONT, E.M... (eds.): Order and Adventure...

LIVI, F. Huysmans, "A Rebours" et l'esprit décadent. Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1972, 200pp.

LOIZE, J. 'Jarry est-il le "sourcier" inconnu de l'art moderne' Arts, n°419, 10 juillet 1953, p.11.

LORMEL, L. 'Les débuts du symbolisme. Rémy de Gourmont, Alfred Jarry et l'"Art littéraire"', Le Gaulois, 56e année, 3e sér., n° 16131, 3 décembre 1921.

Les Mardis: Stéphane Mallarme and the Artists of his Circle, Kansas, The Univ. of Kansas Museum of Art, n.d. [1965], 67pp.

[See in particular:

- a) J.A. Stump: 'Varieties of Symbolism', pp.33-47
- b) K. Berger: 'Mallarmé and the Visual Arts', pp.51-8. ]

MARTINO, P. Parnasse et symbolisme, 8e édition revue et corrigée, Paris, A. Colin, 1950, 220pp.

MARTINO, P. 'Rapports de la littérature et des arts plastiques...' See, in this section, Actes... (a).

MATORE, G. 'A propos du vocabulaire des couleurs', Annales de l'Université de Paris, Tome 28, n°2, Avril - Juin 1958, pp.137-50.

[On Zola, Proust and the Symbolists.]

MAUR, K. 'Edmond de Goncourt et les artistes de la fin du XIXe siècle', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome LXXII, Octobre 1968, pp. 214-7.

MAURON, Ch. Mallarmé l'obscur, Paris, Denoel, 1941, xxiii-204pp.

MERCIER, A. Les Sources ésotériques et occultes de la poésie symboliste (1870-1914). 1. Le Symbolisme français, Paris, Nizet, 1969, 286pp.

MERCIER, A. 'Charles Henry et l'esthétique symboliste', Revue des sciences humaines, Tome 35, n°138, Avril-Juin 1970, pp.251-72.

MICHAUD, G. Message poétique du symbolisme, Paris, Nizet, 1947, 820pp.

MICHAUD, G. 'Symbolique et symbolisme'. See, in this section, Cahiers... (2a).

MITCHELL, B. Les Manifestes littéraires de la belle époque, 1886-1914: anthologie critique, Paris, Seghers, 1966, 199pp.

'Mockel et les arts plastiques' in: Albert Mockel 1866-1945 (catalogue rédigé par J. Warmoes. Introduction de H. Lavachery), Brussels, 1966, pp.134-40. [Catalogue of the Mockel centenary exhibition held in the Bibliothèque Albert 1er, Brussels, 3 - 24 December 1966 and in the Hotel de Ville, Liège, 3 - 21 December 1966.]

MONDOR, H. Autres précisions sur Mallarmé et inédits, Paris, Gallimard, 1961, 281pp.

MONDOR, H. Eugène Lefébure. Sa vie, ses lettres à Mallarmé, Paris, Gallimard, 1951, 367pp.

MONDOR, H. Histoire d'un faune, Paris, Gallimard, 1948, 285pp.

MONDOR, H. Vie de Mallarmé, Paris, Gallimard, 1941, 830pp.

MONTAL, R. René Ghil: du symbolisme à la poésie cosmique, Brussels, Lahor, 1962, 255pp.

MOREAU, P. La Critique littéraire en France, 2e édition, Paris, A. Colin, 1967, 205pp.

MOREAU, P. 'De la symbolique religieuse...' See, in this section, Comparative Literature... (a).

MOREAU, P. 'Symbole, symbolique, symbolisme'. See, in this section, Cahiers... (2b).



MORIER, H. Le Rythme du vers libre symboliste étudié chez Verhaeren, Henri de Régnier, Viélé-Griffin et ses relations avec le sens, Geneva, Les Presses académiques, 1943-1944, 3 vol.

MOSSOP, D. Pure Poetry. Studies in French Poetic Theory and Practice, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971, viii-264pp.

MOSSOP, D. 'L'exégèse...'. See, in this section, Colloque... (c).

MUNRO, T. '"The Afternoon of a Faun" and the Interrelation of the Arts', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. X, n°2, December 1951, pp.95-111.

NOULET, E. L'Oeuvre poétique de Stéphane Mallarmé, Paris, Droz, 1940, ii-564pp. [republished Brussels, J. Antoine, 1974.]

PARK, R. '"Ut Pictura Poesis": the Nineteenth Century. Aftermath', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XXVIII, n°2, Winter 1969, pp.155-64.

PELMONT, R. A. Paul Valéry et les beaux-arts, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard Univ., 1949, 196pp.

PERCHE, L. Alfred Jarry, Paris, Editions universitaires, 1965, 128pp.

PEYRE, H. Qu'est-ce que le symbolisme?, Paris, P.U.F., 1974, 263pp.

POSTIC, M. Maeterlinck et le symbolisme, Paris, Nizet, 1970, 255pp.

POULET, G. Etudes sur le temps humain. II. La Distance intérieure, Paris, Plon, 1952, ii-359pp.

PRAZ, M. The Romantic Agony (trans. from the Italian by A. Davidson), Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1933, xvii-455pp.

RAITT, A.W. Villiers de l'Isle-Adam et le mouvement symboliste, Paris, José Corti, 1965, 421pp.

RAYMOND, M. De Baudelaire au surréalisme, nouvelle édition revue et remaniée, Paris, José Corti, 1963, 369pp.

REBOUL, P. Laforque, Paris, Hatier, 1960, 208pp.

REVERSEAU, J.P. Poètes parnassiens, peintres symbolistes: l'inspiration et les thèmes, Ecole du Louvre, Paris, 1971, 168pp.  
[unpublished thesis.]

REVERSEAU, J.P. 'Pour une étude du thème de la tête coupée dans la littérature et la peinture dans la seconde partie du XIXe siècle', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome LXXX, Septembre 1972, pp.173-84.

RICATTE, R. La Création romanesque chez les Goncourt, Paris, A. Colin, 1953, 495pp.

RICHARD, J.-P. Poésie et profondeur, Paris, Le Seuil 1955, 254pp.

RICHARD, J.-P. L'Univers imaginaire de Mallarmé, Paris, Le Seuil, 1961, 654pp.

RICHARD, N. A l'aube du symbolisme: hydropathes, fumistes et décadents, Paris, Nizet, 1961, 335pp.

RICHARD, N. Le Mouvement décadent: dandys, esthètes et quintessents, Paris, Nizet, 1968, 285pp.

ROUJON, J. 'Whistler et Mallarmé', Mercur de France, Tome 325, n°1108, 1er décembre 1955, pp.631-60.

RUSIC, S. 'Biographie d'Albert Aurier'. See, in this section, Dossiers... (b).

SAINMONT, J.H. 'Petit guide illustré pour la visite de "César-Antechrist"', Cahiers du Collège de pataphysique, n°5-6, Janvier - Juin 1952, pp.53-65.

SAISSELIN, R. G. '"Ut Pictura Poesis": Du Bos to Diderot', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol.XX, n°2, Winter 1961, pp.145-56.

SANS, E. Richard Wagner et la pensée schopenhauerienne, Paris, Klincksieck, 1969, 479pp.

SARRAZIN, B. 'A propos de quelques pages de Bachelard. Pierres et pierreries: l'expérience symbolique de J.-K. Huysmans', Revue des sciences humaines, Tome XXXIV, n°133, Janvier-Mars 1969, pp.93-116.

SAVITZSKY, L. 'Gustave Kahn', Mercur de France, Tome 182, n°654, 15 septembre 1925, pp.665-79.

SCHERER, J. L'Expression littéraire dans l'oeuvre de Mallarmé, Paris, Nizet, 1947, 291pp.

SCHERER, J. Le "Livre" de Mallarmé (Préface de H. Mondor), Paris, Gallimard, 1957, xxiv-383pp.

SCHMIDT, A.-M. La littérature symboliste 1870-1900, 5e édition, Paris, P.U.F., 1957, 128pp.

SCHWARZ, M. Octave Mirbeau. Vie et oeuvre, The Hague, Mouton, 1966, 209pp.

SEZNEC, J. Literature and the Visual Arts in 19th Century France, Hull, Univ. of Hull Publications, 1963, 15pp.

SEZNEC, J. 'Flaubert and the Graphic Arts', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. VIII, 1945, pp.175-90.

SHATTUCK, R. The Banquet Years. The Origins of the Avant-garde in France: 1885 to World War I, rev. ed., London, Jonathan Cape, 1968, xiv-397pp.

SMITH, H.J. 'Mallarmé's Faun: Hero or Anti-hero?', Romanic Review, Vol. LXIV, n°2, March 1973, pp.111-24.

SOFFICI, A. 'Souvenirs parisiens: Degas et Jarry', Dante, 9e année, n°1-3, fasc.60, Janvier-Mars 1940, pp.35-8.

SONNENFELD, A. 'Eros and Poetry...' See, in this section, BEAUMONT, E.M....(eds.): Order and Adventure... (c).

SOURIAU, E. La Poésie française et la peinture, London, Athlone Press,

1966, 52pp.

SPENCER, M.C. The Art Criticism of Théophile Gautier, Geneva, Droz, 1969, x-125pp.

SPOERRI, T. 'Zu Mallarmés "Après-midi d'un Faune"', Trivium, Jahrgang VI, Heft 3, 1948, pp.224-32.

STARKIE, E. 'L'esthétique du symbolisme'. See, in this section, Cahiers... 2(c).

STEIN, J.M. Richard Wagner and the Synthesis of the Arts, Detroit, Wayne State Univ. Press, 1960, 230pp.

STEPHEN, P. Paul Verlaine and the Decadence, 1882-90, Manchester, Manchester Univ. Press, 1974, 216pp.

STEPHEN, P. 'Naturalist Influences on Symbolist Poetry, 1882-86', French Review, Vol.XLVI, n°2, December 1972, pp.299-311.

STRELKA, J. (ed.) Perspectives in Literary Symbolism, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1968, x-257pp.

THIBAUDET, A. La Poésie de Stéphane Mallarmé, étude critique, Paris, M. Rivière, 1912, ix-385pp.

THOMPSON, C.W. The Problem of Pictorial Inspiration in the Work of French Poets and Novelists, Cambridge, 1969,  
[unpublished Ph.D. thesis.]

TIPPETTS, M.A. Les Marines des peintres vues par les littérateurs de Diderot aux Goncourt, Paris, Nizet, 1966, 224pp.

UITTI, K.D. La Passion littéraire de Rémy de Gourmont, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, Paris, P.U.F., 1962, 326pp.

ULLMANN, S. 'New Patterns of Sentence-Structure in the Goncourts' in: Style in the French Novel, 2nd ed., Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1964, pp.121-45.

1966, 52pp.

SPENCER, M.C. The Art Criticism of Théophile Gautier, Geneva, Droz, 1969, x-125pp.

SPOERRI, T. 'Zu Mallarmés "Après-midi d'un Faune"', Trivium, Jahrgang VI, Heft 3, 1948, pp.224-32.

STARKIE, E. 'L'esthétique du symbolisme'. See, in this section, Cahiers... 2(c).

STEIN, J.M. Richard Wagner and the Synthesis of the Arts, Detroit, Wayne State Univ. Press, 1960, 230pp.

STEPHEN, P. Paul Verlaine and the Decadence, 1882-90, Manchester, Manchester Univ. Press, 1974, 216pp.

STEPHEN, P. 'Naturalist Influences on Symbolist Poetry, 1882-86', French Review, Vol.XLVI, n°2, December 1972, pp.299-311.

STRELKA, J. (ed.) Perspectives in Literary Symbolism, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1968, x-257pp.

THIBAUDET, A. La Poésie de Stéphane Mallarmé, étude critique, Paris, M. Rivière, 1912, ix-385pp.

THOMPSON, C.W. The Problem of Pictorial Inspiration in the Work of French Poets and Novelists, Cambridge, 1969,  
[unpublished Ph.D. thesis.]

TIPPETTS, M.A. Les Marines des peintres vues par les littérateurs de Diderot aux Goncourt, Paris, Nizet, 1966, 224pp.

UITTI, K.D. La Passion littéraire de Rémy de Gourmont, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, Paris, P.U.F., 1962, 326pp.

ULLMANN, S. 'New Patterns of Sentence-Structure in the Goncourts' in: Style in the French Novel, 2nd ed., Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1964, pp.121-45.

ULMANN, F. 'L'environnement pictural de Rimbaud', Europe, 51e année, n°529-30, Mai-Juin 1973, pp.57-60.

WAIS, K. 'Banville, Chateaubriand, Keats und Mallarmés Faun', Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur, Band 62, Heft 3-4, 1938, pp.178-93.

WALKER, H. 'Visual and Spatial Imagery in Verlaine's "Fêtes galantes"', Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 87, n°2, July-December 1972, pp.1007-15.

WARD-JACKSON, P. 'Art Historians and Art Critics. VIII. Huysmans', Burlington Magazine, Vol. CIX, n°776, November 1967, pp.617-22.

WEINBERG, B. The Limits of Symbolism. Studies of Five Modern French Poets, Chicago, Chicago Univ. Press, 1966, x-430pp.

WEINREB, R.P. 'Structural Techniques in "A Rebours"', French Review, Vol. XLIX, n°2, December 1975, pp.222-33.

WELCH, L. 'Mallarmé and the Experience of Art', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XXX, n°3, Spring 1972, pp.370-5.

WELLEK, R. A History of Modern Criticism. IV. The Later Nineteenth Century, London, Jonathan Cape, 1966, 671pp.

WILSON, E. Axel's Castle. A Study in the Imaginative Literature of 1870-1930, London, C. Scribner's Sons, 1931, 319pp.

WYZEWA, I. de. La Revue wagnérienne. Essai sur l'interprétation esthétique de Wagner en France, Paris, Perrin, 1934, 200pp.

Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature, 'Symposium on Literary Impressionism', n°17, 1968, pp.40-68. [followed, pp.69-72, by an important bibliography of Literary Impressionism. See section A.]

ZAGONA, H.G. The Legend of Salomé and the Principle of Art for Art's Sake, Geneva, Droz, 1960, 143pp.

D. SECONDARY SOURCES. 2. ART HISTORY.

Comprising useful historical and critical studies of French painters and painting of the period 1870-1900 and including the catalogues, classified by title, of important exhibitions too recent to be included in such standard histories of the period as those of Rewald and Jaworska.

Acts of the XXth International Congress of the History of Art. Studies in Western Art. IV. The Reaction against Impressionism in the 1880's; its Nature and Causes, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1963, pp.89-133. [ Contains four important articles:

- a) F. Novotny: 'The Reaction against Impressionism from the Artistic Point of View', pp.93-103.
- b) A.M. Hammacher: 'The Changing Values of Light-Space-Form between 1876 and 1890', pp.104-10.
- c) R. Goldwater: 'Symbolic Form: Symbolic Content', pp.111-21.
- d) P. Francastel: 'La fin de l'impressionnisme: esthétique et causalité', pp.122-33.]

ANDERSEN, W. Gauguin's Paradise Lost, London, Secker & Warburg, 1972, 371pp.

Autour de Lévy-Dhurmer. Visionnaires et intimistes en 1900, Grand Palais, Paris, 3 mars - 30 avril 1973 (Préface de J. Châtelain, introduction de J. Foucart et J. Lacambre, avant-propos de G. Monnier), Paris, Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1973, 79pp.

BACOU, R. Odilon Redon, Geneva, P. Cailler, 1956, 2 vol.

BAZIN, G. Histoire de l'avant-garde en peinture du XIIIe au XXe siècle, Paris, Hachette, 1969, 303pp.

BELL, Q. Form and Content, Hull, Univ. of Hull, Publications, 1966, 16pp.

BODELSEN, M. 'The Missing Link in Gauguin's Cloisonism', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome LIII, Mai-Juin 1959, pp.329-44.

BOIME, A. The Academy and Painting in Nineteenth Century France, London, Phaidon, 1970, xii-330pp.

BOUDAILLE, G. Gauguin, Paris, Somogy, 1963, 272pp.

BOWNESS, A. 'An Alternative Tradition?'. See, in this section, French Symbolist Painters...

BUSER, T. 'Gauguin's Religion', Art Journal, Vol. XXVII, n°4, Summer 1968, pp.375-80.

CACHIN, F. Gauguin, Paris, Librairie Générale Française, 1968, 377pp.

CACHIN, F. Paul Signac, Paris, La Bibliothèque des arts, 1971, 142pp.

CACHIN, F. 'Un défenseur oublié de l'art moderne', L'Oeil, n°90, Juin 1962, pp.50-5, 75, [On Octave Mirbeau.]

CACHIN, F. 'Monsieur Vénus et l'ange de Sodome: l'androgynie au temps de Gustave Moreau', Nouvelle revue de psychanalyse, n°7, Printemps 1973, pp.63-9.

CELEBONOVIC, A. Peinture kitsch ou réalisme bourgeois, Paris, Seghers, 1974, 198pp. [On French Official Art of the 19th century.]

Centenaire de l'impressionnisme, Grand Palais, Paris, 21 septembre - 10 décembre 1974 (Préface par J. Châtelain et T. Hoving, avant-propos par H. Adhémar et A.M. Clark, notices du catalogue rédigées par A. Dayez, M. Hoog et C. Moffet), Paris, Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1974, 277pp. [The catalogue also contains an interesting article by R. Huyghe: 'L'impressionnisme et la pensée de son temps', pp.11-27.]

CHASSE, Ch. Gauguin et le groupe de Pont-Aven, documents inédits, Paris, Floury, 1921, 92pp.

CHASSE, Ch. Gauguin et son temps, Paris, La Bibliothèque des arts, 1955, 152pp.

CHASSE, Ch. Gauguin sans légendes, Paris, Editions du temps, 1965, 169pp.



CHASSE, Ch. Le Mouvement symboliste dans l'art du XIXe siècle, Paris, Floury, 1947, 216pp.

CHASSE, Ch. Les Nabis et leur temps, Paris, La Bibliothèque des arts, 1960, 187pp.

CHASSE, Ch. 'De quand date le synthétisme de Gauguin?', L'Amour de l'art, Tome XIX, n°3, Avril 1938, pp.127-34.

CHASTEL, A. 'L'interprétation ésotérique de l'art de la Renaissance à la fin du siècle dernier' in: Umanesimo e esoterismo, Padua, Cedem, 1960, pp.439-48.

CHASTEL, A. 'Une source oubliée de Seurat', in: Mélanges Brière, Archives de l'art français, Tome XXII, 1950-1957, pp.400-7.

COGNIAT, R. Gauguin, Paris, Somogy, 1963, 86pp.

COTTE, S. Monet, Paris, H. Scrépel, 1974, 58pp, 45 pl. hors-texte.

CRESPILLE, J.P. Les Maîtres de la belle époque, Paris, Hachette, 1966, 221pp.

DANIELSSON, B. Gauguin in the South Seas, London, Allen & Unwin, 1965, 311pp.

DANIELSSON, B. 'Gauguin's Tahitian Titles', Burlington Magazine, Vol. CIX, n°769, April 1967, pp.228-33.

DEVILLE, J. 'Les deux textes de "Noa-noa"', L'Ami du lettré, 1925, pp.112-24.

DORIVAL, B. Les Etapes de la peinture française contemporaine. I. De l'impressionnisme au fauvisme, 1883-1905, Paris, Gallimard, 1943, 287pp.

DORIVAL, B. 'Sources of the Art of Gauguin from Java, Egypt and Ancient Greece', Burlington Magazine, Vol. XCI, n°577, April 1951, pp.118-22.

CHASSE, Ch. Le Mouvement symboliste dans l'art du XIXe siècle, Paris, Floury, 1947, 216pp.

CHASSE, Ch. Les Nabis et leur temps, Paris, La Bibliothèque des arts, 1960, 187pp.

CHASSE, Ch. 'De quand date le synthétisme de Gauguin?', L'Amour de l'art, Tome XIX, n°3, Avril 1938, pp.127-34.

CHASTEL, A. 'L'interprétation ésotérique de l'art de la Renaissance à la fin du siècle dernier' in: Umanesimo e esoterismo, Padua, Cedem, 1960, pp.439-48.

CHASTEL, A. 'Une source oubliée de Seurat', in: Mélanges Brière, Archives de l'art français, Tome XXII, 1950-1957, pp.400-7.

COGNIAT, R. Gauguin, Paris, Somogy, 1963, 86pp.

COTTE, S. Monet, Paris, H. Scrépel, 1974, 58pp, 45 pl. hors-texte.

CRESPILLE, J.P. Les Maîtres de la belle époque, Paris, Hachette, 1966, 221pp.

DANIELSSON, B. Gauguin in the South Seas, London, Allen & Unwin, 1965, 311pp.

DANIELSSON, B. 'Gauguin's Tahitian Titles', Burlington Magazine, Vol. CIX, n°769, April 1967, pp.228-33.

DEVILLE, J. 'Les deux textes de "Noa-noa"', L'Ami du lettré, 1925, pp.112-24.

DORIVAL, B. Les Etapes de la peinture française contemporaine. I. De l'impressionnisme au fauvisme, 1883-1905, Paris, Gallimard, 1943, 287pp.

DORIVAL, B. 'Sources of the Art of Gauguin from Java, Egypt and Ancient Greece', Burlington Magazine, Vol. XCIII, n°577, April 1951, pp.118-22.

DORRA, H. 'Emile Bernard and Paul Gauguin', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome XLV. Avril 1955, pp.227-60.

DUTHUIT, G. 'Vuillard and the Poets of the Decadence', Art News, Vol. 53, n°1, March 1954, pp.28-31.

Edvard Munch 1863 - 1944, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris, 22 mars - 13 mai 1974 (Préface par J. Leymaire), Paris, Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1974, 31pp., 103 pl. hors-texte. [The catalogue contains an article by M. Hoog: 'Munch en France', pp.12-4.]

L'Estampe impressionniste, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1974 (Préface par E. Dennery, notices du catalogue rédigées par M. Melot), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1974, 183pp.

Esthètes et magiciens, symbolistes des collections parisiennes, Musée Galleria, Paris, Décembre 1970 - Janvier 1971 (Préface par P. Jullian, notices du catalogue rédigées par M.C. Dane), Paris, Musée Galleria, 1970, 40pp.

L'Evangile symboliste. Carlos Schwabe. 1892, Galerie J.C. Gaubert, Paris, 3 avril - 11 mai 1974 (texte de P. Jullian), Paris, Edition J.C. Gaubert, 1974, 59pp.

FIELD, R.S. 'Gauguin's "Noa-noa" Suite', Burlington Magazine, Vol. CX, n°787, September 1968, pp.500-11.

FINKE, U. (ed.) French 19th Century Painting and Literature, with Special Reference to the Relevance of Literary Subject-matter to French Painting, Manchester, Manchester Univ. Press, 1972, 390pp. [An important volume for our subject. It contains, in addition to material on the early 19th and 20th centuries, the following articles:

- a) M. Podros: 'The Painters' Analogies and their Theories, 1845-80', pp.99-115.
- b) L.R. Furst: 'Zola's Art Criticism', pp.164-81.
- c) T. Reff: 'Degas and the Literature of his Time', pp.182-231.
- d) L.J. Austin: 'Mallarmé and the Visual Arts', pp.232-57.
- e) J. Seznec: 'Odilon Redon and Literature', pp.280-98.
- f) M. Imdahl: 'Cézannes Malerei als Systembildung und das Unliterarische', pp.299-304. ]

FISHMAN, S. The Interpretation of Art: Essays on the Art Criticism of John Ruskin, Walter Pater, Clive Bell, Roger Fry and Herbert Read, Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1963, 135pp.

FOUCHOT, M.-P. Gauguin, Paris, H.Scrépel, 1975, 54pp.

FOUGERAT, E. Puvis de Chavannes. 1824-1898, Paris, Laboratoire Chantereau, 1955, 14pp.

FRANCASTEL, P. Peinture et société. Naissance et destruction d'un espace plastique de la Renaissance au cubisme, Lyon, Audin, 1951, 303pp.

FRANCASTEL, P. 'La fin de l'impressionnisme...' See, in this section, Actes... (d).

FRASER, D.H. Gauguin's "Vision after the Sermon - Jacob Struggling with the Angel", London, Cassell, 1969, 32pp.

French Symbolist Painters, Hayward Gallery, London, 7 June - 23 July 1972 (Introduction by P. Jullian, catalogue entries by G. Lacambre and E.-C. Flamand), London, Arts Council of Great Britain, 1972, 170pp. / In addition to Jullian's introduction, the catalogue contains an important article by A. Bowness: 'An Alternative Tradition?', pp. 14-20.7

Gauguin and the Pont-Aven Group, Tate Gallery, London, January - February 1966 (Catalogue notes compiled by R. Pickvance. Introduction by D. Sutton), London, Arts Council, 1966, 48pp.

GAUSS, C.E. The Aesthetic Theories of French Artists from Realism to Surrealism, Baltimore, John Hopkins Paperbacks, 2nd. ed., 1970, 111pp.

GOLDWATER, R. 'Puvis de Chavannes: Some Reasons for a Reputation', The Art Bulletin, Vol. XXVIII, n°1, March 1946, pp.33-43.

GOLDWATER, R. 'Symbolic Form...' See, in this section, Actes... (c).

GOLDWATER, R. 'Symbolism in Painting', Art News, Vol. 46, n°7, September 1947, pp.14-6, 44-5.

GOMBRICH, E.H. The Story of Art, 11th ed., London, Phaidon, 1966, vi-488pp.

GOMBRICH, E.H. Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance, 2nd ed., London, Phaidon, 1975, viii-247pp.

GUERIN, D. 'Gauguin et les jeunes Maoris', Arcadie, 20e. année, n°230, Février 1973, pp.57-65.

Gustave Geffroy et l'art moderne, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1957 (Introduction par J. Cain, notices du catalogue rédigées par J. Adhémar), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1957, 41pp. ~~The~~ catalogue also contains short but interesting remarks by J. Vallery-Radot: 'Gustave Geffroy, critique d'art (1855-1926)', pp.13-6.<sup>7</sup>

HAFTMANN, W. Painting in the Twentieth Century (Trans. by R. Manheim), 2 vols., London, Lund Humphries, 1968.

HAMILTON, G.H. Manet and his Critics, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1954, xii-295pp.

HAMMACHER, A.M. 'The Changing Values of Light-Space-Form...' See, in this section, Actes... (b).

HARTTRICK, A.S. A Painter's Pilgrimage through 50 Years, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1939, xii-252pp.

HERBERT, R.L. 'Seurat and Puvis de Chavannes', Yale Univ. Art Gallery Bulletin, Vol. 25, n°2, October 1959, pp.22-9.

HOFSTATTER, H.H. Idealismus und Symbolismus, Munich, A. Schroll, 1972, 140pp.

HOFSTATTER, H.H. 'L'iconographie de la peinture symboliste'. See, in this section, Le Symbolisme en Europe...

HOLTEN, R. von. L'Art fantastique de Gustave Moreau, Paris, Pauvert, 1960, 72pp.

HOLTEN, R. von. Gustave Moreau, Symbolist, Stockholm, Natur och Kultur, 1965, 210pp.

HOMER, W.I. Seurat and the Science of Painting, Cambridge (Mass.), M.I.T. Press, 1964, 327pp.

HUMBERT, A. Les Nabis et leur époque, 1888-1900 (Préface de J. Cassou), Geneva, P. Cailler, 1954, 152pp.

HUNT, J.D. The Pre-Raphaelite Imagination, 1848-1900, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968, xv-262pp.

HUYGHE, R. Les Puissances de l'image, bilan d'une psychologie de l'art, Paris, Flammarion, 1965, 283pp.

HUYGHE, R. La Relève du réel: impressionnisme, symbolisme, Paris, Flammarion, 1974, 478pp. [See also, in this section, Centenaire...]

Idéalistes et symbolistes, Galerie J.C. Gaubert, Paris, 3 octobre-21 décembre 1973 (texte de P. Jullian), Paris, Editions J.C. Gaubert, 1973, 111pp.

IMDAHL, M. 'Cézannes Malerei...' See, in this section, FINKE, U. (ed.): French 19th Century Painting... (f)

ISHIKAWA, J. 'Moderne malgré lui. The Phenomenon of Puvis de Chavannes', Art Journal, Vol. XXVII, n°4, Summer 1968, pp.381-6.

JAROCINSKI, S. Debussy: impressionnisme et symbolisme (Traduit du polonais par T. Douchy), Paris, Le Seuil, 1970, 199pp.

JAWORSKA, W. Gauguin et l'école de Pont-Aven, Neufchatel, Ides et Calendes, 1971, 261pp.

JULLIAN, P. Esthètes et magiciens. L'Art fin de siècle, Paris, Perrin, 1969, 349pp.

JULLIAN, P. Les Symbolistes, Neufchatel, Ides et Calendes, 1973, 244pp.

JULLIAN, P. See also, in this section, Esthètes et magiciens...., L'Evangile symboliste..., French Symbolist Painters, Idéalistes et symbolistes...

LETHEVE, J. La Vie quotidienne des artistes français au XIXe siècle, Paris, Hachette, 1968, 253pp.

LETHEVE, J. 'La connaissance des pré-raphaélites en France', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome LIII, Mai-Juin 1959, pp.315-28.

LETHEVE, J. 'Les salons de la Rose+Croix', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome LVI, Décembre 1960, pp.363-73.

LETHEVE, J. See also, in preceding section, Impressionnistes...

LOEVGREN, S. The Genesis of Modernism. Seurat, Gauguin, Van Gogh and French Symbolism in the 1880's, 2nd. ed., Bloomington, Indiana Univ. Press, 1971, 241pp.

LUCIE-SMITH, E. Symbolist Art, London, Thames & Hudson, 1972, 216pp.

MADSEN, S.T. L'Art nouveau (Traduit du norvégien par L. Hirsch), Paris, Hachette, 1967, 256pp.

MARTIN, E.P. The Symbolist Criticism of Painting: France, 1880-1895, Ann Arbor (Mich.), University Microfilm AC - 1 n°3576, [230pp.]

MATHIEU, P.-L. 'Gustave Moreau amoureux', L'Oeil, n°224, Mars 1974, pp.28-35.

MAUNER, G. 'The Nature of Nabi Symbolism', Art Journal, Vol. XXIII, n°2, Winter 1963, pp.96-103.

Maurice Denis, Orangerie des Tuileries, Paris, 3 juin - 31 août 1970 (Préface de L. Hauteecœur, notices du catalogue rédigées par A. Dayez), Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1970, 128pp.

MICHEL, E. 'La critique d'art et ses conditions actuelles' in: Nouvelles études sur l'histoire de l'art, Paris, Hachette, 1908,

xiii-359pp.

MILNER, J. Symbolists and Decadents, London, Studio Vista/Dutton, 1971, 160pp.

MOSER, R. L'Impressionnisme français. Peinture, littérature, musique, Geneva, Droz, 1952, 287pp.

MRAS, G.P. Eugène Delacroix's Theory of Art, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1966, xiv-160pp.

Le Musée de Luxembourg en 1874, Grand Palais, Paris, 31 mai - 18 novembre 1974 (catalogue rédigé par G. Lacambre avec la collaboration de J. de Rohan-Chabot), Paris, Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1974, 189pp.

Musée Gustave Moreau. Catalogue des peintures, dessins, cartons, aquarelles, (Préface de J. Paladilhe), Paris, Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1974, 127pp.

NOSZLOPY, G.T. 'Edouard Manet's "Ars Poetica" of 1868', British Journal of Aesthetics, Vol. VIII, n°2, April 1968, pp.183-90.

NOVOTNY, F. 'The Reaction against Impressionism...' See, in this section, Actes... (a).

PALADILHE, J., PIERRE, J. Gustave Moreau, Paris, F. Hazan, 1971, 176pp.

PALMER, C. Impressionism in Music, London, Hutchinson University Library, 1973, 248pp.

PAULHAN J. F.F ou le critique, Paris, Gallimard, 1945, 91pp. /F.F. is Félix Fénéon./

Peintres de l'imaginaire, symbolistes et surréalistes belges, Grand Palais, Paris, 4 février - 8 avril 1972 (avant-propos par M. Hoog, introduction par F.-C. Legrand), Paris, Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1972, 235pp.



La Peinture romantique anglaise et les préraphaélites, Petit Palais, Paris, Janvier-Avril 1972 (Préface par K. Clark, notices du catalogue coordonnées par M. Kitson), Paris, Les Presses artistiques, 1972, s.p.

PIERRE, J. Gustave Moreau. See, in this section, PALADILHE, J.

PIERRE, J. 'Une clef de l'art moderne: le symbolisme', L'Oeil, n°178, Octobre 1969, pp.20-9, 36, 80.

PINCUS-WITTEN, R. 'Ideal Interlude: the First Retrospective of the Salons de la Rose+Croix', Artforum, Vol.VII, n°1, September 1968, pp.51-4.

PODRO, M. 'The Painters' Analogies...' See, in this section, FINKE, U. (ed.): French 19th Century Painting...(a).

REFF, T. 'Degas and the Literature of his Time'. See, in this section, FINKE, U. (ed.): French 19th Century Painting... (c).

REWALD, J. The History of Impressionism. See section A.

REWALD, J. Pissarro, Paris, Nouvelles Editions françaises, 1962, 48pp.

REWALD, J. Post-Impressionism from Van Gogh to Gauguin. See section A.

REWALD, J. 'Félix Fénéon', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tomes XXXII, Juillet-Août 1947, pp.45-62; XXXIII, Février 1948, pp.107-26.

REWALD, J. 'Quelques notes et documents sur Odilon Redon', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome XLVIII, Novembre 1956, pp.81-124.

REWALD, J. 'Theo Van Gogh, Goupil and the Impressionists', Gazette des beaux-arts, Tome LXXXI, Janvier-Février 1973, pp.1-108.

REY, R. La Peinture française à la fin du XIXe siècle. La Renaissance

du sentiment classique, Paris, Les Beaux-arts, 1931, ii-166pp.

RICHARD, A. La Critique d'art, Paris, P.U.F., 1958, 127pp.

ROOKMAAKER, H.R. Gauguin and 19th Century Art Theory, Amsterdam, Swets & Zeitlinger, 1972, vii-362pp. [2nd ed. Original, 1959 title: Synthetist Art Theories. Genesis and Nature of the Ideas on Art of Gauguin and his Circle.]

ROTONCHAMP, J. de. Paul Gauguin 1848-1903, Paris, G. Crès, 1925, 229pp.

ROUART, D. Monet, étude biographique et critique, Geneva, Skira, 1958, 129pp.

RUSSOLI, F. 'Images et langages du symbolisme'. See, in this section, Le Symbolisme en Europe... (b).

SANDSTROM, S.E.A. Le Monde imaginaire d'Odilon Redon, étude iconologique, Lund, C.W.K. Gleerup, 1955, xx-230pp.

SCHARF, A. Art and Photography, London, Allen Lane, 1963, xv-314pp.

SCHNEIDER, P. 'Henri Fantin-Latour', Art News Annual, Vol. 24, 1955, pp.57-78.

SEITZ, W.C. Claude Monet, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1960, 64pp.

SELVIC, F. 'The Nabis and their Circle', Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin, vol. LI, n°4, December 1962, pp.121-52.

SEZNEC, J. 'Literary Inspiration in Van Gogh', Magazine of Art, Vol. XLIII, December 1950, pp.282-8, 306-7.

SEZNEC, J. 'Odilon Redon and Literature'. See, in this section, FINKEL, W. (ed.): French 19th Century Painting... (e).

STUMP, J.A. 'Varieties of Symbolism'. See, in preceding section, Les Mardis...

SUTTON, D. See, in this section, Gauguin and the Pont-Aven Group.

Le Symbolisme en Europe, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Janvier-Mars 1976 (Préface de H.H. Hofstätter, avant-propos de F. Russoli, G. Lacambre), Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 1976, 274pp.

✓The catalogue of this major exhibition contains three important articles:

- a) H.H.Hofstätter: 'L'iconographie de la peinture symboliste', pp.11-6.
- b) F. Russoli: 'Images et langages du symbolisme', pp.17-20.
- c) G. Lacambre: 'Le symbolisme en Europe - notes d'histoire', pp.21-5. ]

SYIPHER, W. Four Stages of Renaissance Style: Transformations in Art and Literature, New York, Doubleday & Co., 1955, 312pp.

SYIPHER, W. Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature, New York, Random House, 1960, xxviii-353pp.

TABARANT, A. Manet et ses oeuvres, Paris, Gallimard, 1947, 603pp.

TAYLOR, J.C. 'Two Visual Excursions. I. Art and the Ethnological Artefact. II. Literary Values in the Visual Arts', Critical Inquiry, Vol. 1, n°1, September 1974, pp.91-102.

VALLERY-RADOT, J. 'Gustave Geffroy, critique d'art'. See, in this section, Gustave Geffroy...

VENTURI, L. Les Archives de l'impressionnisme, Paris - New York, Durand-Ruel, 1939, 2 vol.

VENTURI, L. Histoire de la critique d'art (Traduit de l'italien par J. Bertrand), Paris, Flammarion, 1969, 333pp.

Vincent van Gogh, Orangerie des Tuileries, 21 décembre 1971 - 10 avril 1972 (Préface de J. Châtelain, introduction de H. Adhémar, avant-propos de V.W. van Gogh), Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1971, 112pp, 212 pl. hors-texte.

VOLLARD, A. Paul Cézanne, Paris, Galerie A. Vollard, 1914, 189pp.

[In appendix: 'Cézanne et la critique d'art'.]

VOLLARD, A. Souvenirs d'un marchand de tableaux, Paris, Albin Michel, 1937, 448pp.

VOLLARD, A. La Vie et l'oeuvre de Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Paris A. Vollard, 1919, 280pp.

WALLIS, A.A. 'The Symbolist Painters of 1890', Marsyas, n°1, 1941, pp.11 -56.

WILDENSTEIN, G. 'L'idéologie et l'esthétique dans deux tableaux-clés de Gauguin' in: Gauguin, sa vie, son oeuvre, documents inédits, Gazette des beaux-arts, (n° spécial) Tome LI, Janvier-Avril 1958, pp.127-60.

E. SECONDARY SOURCES. 3. AESTHETIC THEORY.

Comprising general studies of the theory of the arts, with particular reference to the relationships between literature and painting.

ALDRICH, V. 'Mothersill and Gombrich on "the Language of Art"', British Journal of Aesthetics, Vol. VIII, n°4, October 1968, pp.359-64.

BARTHES, R. L'Empire des signes, Geneva, Skira, 1970, 158pp.

BARTHES, R. Essais critiques, 2e édition, Paris, Le Seuil, 1971, 280pp.

BARTHES, R. 'Eléments de sémiologie', Communications, n°4, 1964 pp.91-135.

BARTHES, R. 'La peinture est-elle un langage?' La Quinzaine littéraire, n°68, 1er mars 1969, p.16.

BARTHES, R. 'La peinture et l'écriture des signes' Coloquio artes, 16° ano, n°20, Dezembro 1974, pp.23-38.

BARTHES, R. 'Rhétorique de l'image', Communications, n°4, 1964, pp.40-51.

BEREFELT, G. 'On Symbol and Allegory', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XXVIII, n°2, Winter 1969, pp.201-12.

BUTOR, M. Les Mots dans la peinture, Geneva, Skira, 1969, 182pp.

CASSIRER, E. The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms, (Trans. by R. Manheim) 3 vols., New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1953-1957.

CLANCEY, V.J. 'Colour Music', The Realist, Vol. VII, 1929, pp.138-47.

COVIN, M. 'A la recherche du signifiant iconique', Revue d'esthétique, Tome XXV, n°4, Octobre-Décembre 1972, pp.391-406.

DAIX, P. Nouvelle critique et art moderne, Paris, Le Seuil, 1968, 203pp.

DAMISCH, H. Théorie du nuage, Paris, Le Seuil, 1972, 336pp., 8 pl. hors-texte.

DOMBI ERZSEBET, P. 'Synaesthesia and Poetry', Poetics, n°11, 1974, pp.23-44.

DORFLES, G. 'Communication and Symbol in the Work of Art', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XV, n°3, March 1957, pp.289-97.

DUFRENNE, M. 'L'art est-il langage?', Revue d'esthétique, Tome XIX, n°1, Janvier - Mars 1966, pp.1-42.

EMBLER, W. 'Symbols in Literature and Art', College Art Journal, Vol. XVI, n°1, Fall 1956, pp.47-58.

FOCILLON, H. Vie des formes, suivi de Eloge de la main, 6e édition, Paris, P.U.F., 1970, 132pp.

GIOVANNINI, G. 'Method in the Study of Literature in Relation to the Other Fine Arts', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. VIII, n°3, March 1950, pp.185-95.

GOMBRICH, E.H. Art and Illusion. A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation, 3rd ed., London, Phaidon, 1968, xiii-390pp.

2nd ed.  
GREENE, T.M. The Arts and the Art of Criticism, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1949, 690pp.

HANSEN, F. 'Langer's Expressive Form: an Interpretation', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XXVII, n°2, Winter 1968, pp.165-70.

HATZFELD, H. 'Value and Meaning of Relating Literature to Art for the Critic' in: Atti del III° Congresso internazionale di estetica, Turin, Edizioni della Revista di Estetica, 1957, pp.623-7.

HAUSER, A. The Social History of Art (Trans. in collaboration with the author by S. Godman). Vol. 4. Naturalism, Impressionism, The Film Age. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962, 270pp.

KLEE, P. Théorie de l'art moderne (Traduction par P.-H. Gonthier), Geneva, Gonthier, 1964, 174pp.

KLEIN, P. 'Sur la signification de la synthèse des arts', Revue d'esthétique, Tome V, n°2, Avril - Juin 1952, pp.298-311.

KNIGHTS, L.C., COTTLE, B. Metaphor and Symbol, London, Butterworth Scientific Publications, 1960, xii-150pp. [Proceedings of the 12th Symposium of the Colston Research Society, Univ. of Bristol.]

KRISTEVA, J. La Révolution du langage poétique, Paris, Le Seuil, 1974, 645pp.

KRISTEVA, J. 'L'espace Giotto', Peinture. Cahiers théoriques, n°2-3, Janvier 1972, pp.35-51.

LANGER, S.K. Feeling and Form, 4th ed., London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967, 431pp.

LANGER, S.K. Philosophy in a New Key. A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite and Art, 2nd ed., Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard Univ. Press, 1951, xviii-313pp.

LEE, R.W. '"Ut Pictura Poesis": the Humanistic Theory of Painting', The Art Bulletin, Vol. XXII, n°4, December 1940, pp.197-269.

LEWIS, W. The Demon of Progress in the Arts, London, Methuen, 1955, vi-97pp.

LOCKSPEISER, E. Music and Painting. A Study in Comparative Ideas from Turner to Schoenberg, London, Cassell, 1973, 197pp.

LOREAU, M. 'La poésie, la peinture et le fondement du langage', Revue internationale de philosophie, 21e année, n°31, 1967, pp.300-47.

LOTMAN, I. 'L'art en tant que langage' in: La Structure du texte artistique (Traduit du russe par A. Fournier, B. Kreise, E. Malleret et J. Yong), Paris, Gallimard, 1973, pp.33-65.

LYOTARD, J.-F. Discours, figure, Paris, Klincksieck, 1971, 430pp.

MARIN, L. Etudes semiologiques: écritures, peintures, Paris, Klincksieck, 1971, 326pp.

MARIN, L. 'La description de l'image: à propos d'un paysage de Poussin', Communications, n°15, 1970, pp.186-206.

MARTIN, G.D. Language, Truth and Poetry, Edinburgh, Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1975, v-356pp.

MASON, W. 'Father Castel and his Color Clavecin', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XVII, n°1, September 1958, pp.93-102.

MATEESCU, C.A. 'Toward a Structural Approach to the Pictorial Language', Poetics, n°11, 1974, pp.45-62.

MATISSE, H. 'Notes d'un peintre', La Grande revue, 12e année, Tome 52, n°24, 25 décembre 1908, pp.731-45.

MATISSE, H. 'Témoignages', XXe siècle, nouv. sér., n°2, Janvier 1952, pp.66-7.

MAURY, P. Arts et littératures comparées. Etat présent de la question, Paris, "Les Belles Lettres", s.d. [1935], 48pp.

MERRIMAN, J.D. 'The Parallel of the Arts: Some Misgivings and a Faint Affirmation', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XXXI, n°2, Winter 1972, pp.153-64; n°3, Spring 1973, pp.309-21.

MINGUET, P. 'L'oeuvre d'art comme forme symbolique', Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger, Tome 151, n°2-3, Avril - Septembre 1961, pp.307-18.

MORGAN, D.N. 'Icon, Index and Symbol in the Visual Arts', Philosophical Studies, Vol. VI, n°4, 1955, pp.49-54.

MUNRO, T. The Arts and their Interrelations, 2nd ed., Cleveland, Case Western Reserve Univ. Press, 1967, xvi-590pp.

MUNRO, T. 'Suggestion and Symbolism in the Arts', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XV, n°2, December 1956, pp.152-80.

OGDEN, C.K., RICHARDS, I.A. The Meaning of Meaning, a Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism,



London, K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1923, xxxii-544pp.

O'MALLEY, G. 'Literary Synaesthesia', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XV, n°4, June 1957, pp.391-411.

PAGE, P., LEGRIS, R. Le Symbole, carrefour interdisciplinaire, Montreal, Editions Sainte-Marie, 1969, 163pp.

PASSERON, R. L'Oeuvre picturale et les fonctions de l'apparence, Paris, Vrin, 1962, 372pp.

PASSERON, R. 'La peinture comme langage' in: Clefs pour la peinture, Paris, Seghers, 1969, 184pp.

PEPPER, S. The Basis of Criticism in the Arts, Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard Univ. Press, 1945, viii-177pp.

PLEYNET, M. L'Enseignement de la peinture, Paris, Le Seuil, 1971, 224pp.

POGGIOLI, R. The Theory of the Avant-Garde (Trans. from the Italian by G. Fitzgerald), Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard Univ. Press, 1968, 250pp.

PRAZ, M. Mnemosyne: The Parallel between Literature and the Visual Arts, Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press; Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1970, 261pp.

RIESER, M. 'Metaphoric Expression in the Plastic Arts', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XVII, n°2, December 1958, pp. 194-200.

RIESER, M. 'Théorie linguistique des arts plastiques', Revue d'esthétique, Tome XIV, n°2, Avril-Juin 1961, pp.113-28.

SCHAPIRO, M. Words and Pictures. On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text, The Hague, Mouton, 1973, 108pp.

SCHAPIRO, M. 'On Some Problems in the Semiotics of Visual Art: Field and Vehicle in Image-Signs', Semiotica, Tome I, n°3, 1969, pp.223-42.

SCHEFER, J.-L. Scénographie d'un tableau, Paris, Le Seuil, 1969, 208pp.

SCHUELLER, H.M. 'Correspondences between Music and the Sister Arts, according to 18th Century Aesthetic Theory', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. XI, n°4, June 1953, pp.334-59.

SERVIEN, R. 'Art et langage', Revue d'esthétique, Tome VIII, n° 1, Janvier-Mars 1955, pp.51-61.

SOURIAU, E. La Correspondance des arts. Eléments d'esthétique comparée, Paris, Flammarion, 1947, 285pp.

SPERBER, D. Le Symbolisme en général, Paris, Hermann, 1974, 164pp.

STIENNON, J. 'Réflexions sur l'étude comparée des arts plastiques et littéraires' in: Approches de l'art: Mélanges d'esthétique et de science de l'art offerts à Arsène Soreil, Brussels, La Renaissance du Livre, 1972, pp.115-24.

USPENSKY, B.A. 'Structural Isomorphism of Verbal and Visual Arts', Poetics, n°5, 1972, pp.5-39.

WELLEK, R. Concepts of Criticism, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1963, xv-403pp.

WELLEK, R. Discriminations. Further Concepts of Criticism, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1970, 387pp.

WELLEK, R. 'The Concept of the Baroque in Literary Scholarship', Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. V, n°2, December 1946, pp.77-109.

WELLEK, R., WARREN, A. Theory of Literature, 3rd ed., London, Peregrine, 1963, 375pp.

WENDT, P.R. 'The Language of Pictures', Etc., Vol. XIII, n°4, Summer 1956, pp.281-8.

WOLLHEIM, R. Art and its Objects, 2nd ed., London, Pelican, 1968, 192pp.

F. MISCELLANEOUS.

KRISTEVA, J. Semiotikè, Paris, Le Seuil, 1969, 384pp.

LYONS, J. Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1968, 520pp.

METZ, C. 'Le cinéma: langue ou langage', Communications, n°4, 1964, pp.52-90.

MORRIS, C.W. Signs, Language and Behaviour, New York, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1946, xii-365pp.

POPPER, K. The Poverty of Historicism, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957, xiv-166pp.

RUWET, N. Introduction à la grammaire générative, Paris, Plon, 1967, 448pp.

SAUSSURE, F.de. Cours de linguistique générale (Introduction, notes et commentaires par T. de Mauro), 4e édition, Paris, Payot, 1972, xviii-511pp.

TODOROV, T., DUCROT, O. Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences du langage, Paris, Le Seuil, 1972, 472pp.